



The Poetics of Egyptian Museum Practice

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In a recent study, Stephanie Moser (*Wondrous Curiosities*) discusses the abiding impact that five major exhibitions at the British Museum from 1759 to 1880 have had on the Western perception of ancient Egyptian culture. Through an in-depth analysis of representational strategies in the Egyptian installations of this period, she argues that the British Museum instituted two enduring features of our understanding of Egyptian history. Firstly, its cultural opposition to the development of Western society through direct contrast between the material cultures of Egyptian and classical antiquity. Secondly, its unique popular appeal among past cultures through its establishment as the most intellectually accessible subject of ancient history. In an essay of 2003, Donald Preziosi (*Brain of the Earth's Body*) provides a historical and philosophical account of Western museological order in the late 19th Century imperial exhibition of Egyptian history. Preziosi observes that the legibility of European art history and modernity was achieved through narrative exhibition structures in which non-European material cultures were assembled in ideological contrast to Western principles. He argues that this disciplinary structure, by measuring cultural differences against a universal standard of value, supported the political order of imperialism. This museological narrative was thus central to colonial identity in Egypt, which was defined by its obverse relationship to a characteristically Eastern or native identity. By simulating European exhibition styles in Egyptian museums, these colonial institutions reframed a hybrid Egyptian identity into a progressive, evolutionary account according to the nationalist interests of France and Britain, and the Orientalist interests of European scholars and tourists. Consequently, the ideological structure of Orientalism, vis-à-vis the representation of Oriental reality as an object defined by its observed differences from the West, has imprinted European notions of meaning and order onto the general perception of Egyptian history.¹ Such analyses of rhetorical strategy in 19th Century museum exhibition provide a framework for discussing the conceptual development of Egyptian museums over the past 150 years.

Up to the 1850s, the scientific and aesthetic principles in practice at the British Museum did not support the systematic presentation of Egyptian material on its own historical terms. According to Moser,

Without the intellectual framework of archaeology to guide the presentation of the antiquities, the museum avoided constructing a narrative or sequence that would inform visitors about the existence of distinctive cultural histories in antiquity, and rather, the displays were arranged so as to educate visitors about the rise of Western art.²

¹ See Mitchell (in Preziosi and Farago, *Grasping the World*).

² Moser, *Wondrous Curiosities*, 232.

In the mid-to-late 19th Century, Egypt's first museums originated in the midst of an epistemological shift, for both museology and Egyptology, from an abstract to a rational perspective. Victorian display practices, having developed out of more abstract organizing principles for the early modern collections of Europe, produced knowledge through objects and the visual relationships in which they were arranged.³ As Steven Conn observes, the form of Victorian display traditions, presented as an encyclopedic order of objects in glass cases, 'made it possible for the visiting public to understand the meaning of museum displays'.⁴ These Victorian museum forms reflected contemporary ideologies of art, nature, and culture in Western society, and were brought to Egypt under French and British administration.

It was also during this time in the second half of the 19th Century that a systematic understanding of Egyptian antiquity was introduced by the emerging discipline of Egyptology. The chronological framework advanced by archaeological studies replaced many of the earlier concepts about Egyptian history that had been based on classical studies of Greek and Roman art history. Along with the Victorian salon-style aesthetic imported from European institutions, the early principles of Egyptian archaeology had a direct and lasting impact on Egyptian museum arrangements. It was an encyclopedic style based on chronological and taxonomic classification that formed the basis for archaeological then geological, biological, ethnographic, and historical display in Egypt.

It is important to qualify the presentation of ancient Egypt in terms of both museum-based and discipline-based epistemologies of this time, because they reveal essential museological precepts about Pharaonic culture. Firstly, that it came to signify Western advancement through its appropriation as the ultimate Other represented as an essential and exotic counterpart to the cultural development and identity of Euro-American society. Secondly, imperial display methods established Pharaonic Egypt as the indigene of all Egyptian history. And third, exhibit arrangements based on visual order and classification provided the structural foundation for all Egyptian museums to follow. The legacy of a priori exoticism and exclusivity afforded to ancient Egypt by colonial institutions has persisted in Western representations for the past two-and-a-half centuries, and this legacy was also inherited and later adapted by Egypt's postcolonial administration.

Throughout the 19th Century, Pharaonic culture became synonymous with Egypt in representations from the outside looking in, framed by a Western-Orientalist perspective in literature, painting, photography, and exhibition. From this perspective and with a European aesthetic, Egypt's first major museums established an exhibitionary order that reflected Western ideologies by segregating Egyptian history within the urban fabric of Egypt itself (Table 1). The Pharaonic collection came first as the Boulaq Museum in 1858, and was subsequently relocated to Giza in 1890 and finally, as the Egyptian Museum, to the center of downtown Cairo in 1902. The Graeco-Roman Museum was founded in 1892, installed in a building of neo-classical design in Alexandria, and the Coptic Museum was established at the Hanging Church in Old Cairo in 1908. The Islamic Museum, née Museum of Arab Art, was established in 1884 in the Mosque of el-Hakim in Fatimid Cairo, moving to a neo-Islamic

³ See Abt (in Macdonald, *Companion*), Coombes (in Preziosi and Farago, *Grasping the World*), Findlen (in Preziosi and Farago, *Grasping the World*), and Schulz (in Pearce, *Interpreting Objects and Collections*).

⁴ Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, 8.

building on Mohammed Ali Street in Bab el-Khalq, 'medieval' Cairo, in 1903.⁵

In the original formulation, the Egyptian antiquities museum at the heart of Cairo came to represent an indigenous Egyptian culture and the other three collections were presented and viewed as ethnic diversions.⁶ Of the Pharaonic, classical, Byzantine, and Islamic pasts, only the first would serve as a synonym for Egyptian. There would be some overlap between Pharaonic and classical antiquity in early museum collection, but the Coptic and Islamic traditions remained isolated. In his seminal study on the relationship of archaeology and Egyptian nationality from 1798-1914, Donald Reid notes that,

Even in its striking new premises, the Museum of Arab Art never rivaled the Egyptian Museum as a cultural landmark in either Western or Egyptian eyes. The Egyptian Museum's building of 1902 cost over four times as much as the building of the combined Museum of Arab Art and Khedivial Library. Today the Egyptian Museum remains a landmark in Cairo's central square- despite being overshadowed by the Nile Hilton, Arab League, Mugamma (a government office complex), and commercial high-rises- while the Museum of Arab Art lies off the beaten tourist track... In 1913 the Egyptian Museum drew 29,879 visitors, six times as many as the 5,166 who visited the Museum of Arab Art.⁷

A wide spectrum of critical studies has addressed the role of museums in the production of scientific and cultural knowledge, meaning, and identity.⁸ These studies examine the epistemological development of Western museum structures from classical to Renaissance, Victorian, and later 'democratic' concepts of museum organization. In this, they provide a valuable analytical framework for the study of semiotic and metonymic strategies in museum exhibition over the past five centuries. Along with Reid, Frederick Bohrer (in Preziosi and Farago, *Grasping the World*) and Wendy Shaw (*Possessors and Possessed*) relate this work to the subject of Europe and the Near East in the 19-20th Centuries.

Shaw's work in particular illustrates the metonymic function of museums in shaping the identity of Near Eastern nations as a form of resistance to European colonial influence. She examines the distributive arrangement of antiquities in late 19th Century Ottoman museums as an express effort to institutionalize a modern nationality in response to European imperial overtures. Her discussion of the adaptive use of Western museum structures in the Ottoman Empire relates to modern Egypt by demonstrating the repossession of a regional patrimony through the selective use and modification of inherited exhibition practices. The particular adaptations she describes are dissimilar to those in postcolonial Egypt, but she establishes an important precedent with this work by emphasizing the political and cultural agency of reformulated display structures as self-reflective narratives.

The museum practices of collection and display may have relied on European

⁵ See Reid (*Whose Pharaohs*).

⁶ See Preziosi, *Brain of the Earth's Body*, 127.

⁷ Reid, *Whose Pharaohs*, 239.

⁸ Leading studies in this genre can be found in Karp and Lavine (*Exhibiting Cultures*), Macdonald (*Politics of Display and Companion*), Preziosi and Farago (*Grasping the World*), and Yanni (*Nature's Museums*).

examples, yet the modes of their performance in the Ottoman context addressed local traditions and contemporary needs. As a space of selective collection, self-reflection, and conscientious display, the museum provides a unique venue through which to consider how the Ottoman Empire adopted a European institution and modified it to very specific local needs, ideologies, and aspirations.⁹

Shaw goes on to describe the Ottoman rejection of a positivist order of display based on European epistemologies (evolutionary models of display emphasizing a cultural periodization from primitive to civilized), and the resulting adoption of 'a new language of archaeological ownership,' which instead ordered its classical antiquity according to expository principles emphasizing 'the contemporary geography of archaeology'.¹⁰ The re-telling of Near Eastern history from a postcolonial perspective is thus achieved through the reordering of visual associations in museum arrangements.

In the Ottoman example, displays based on historical provenance rather than on historical contexts rooted in Western aesthetics and systematics expressed an emergent national identity. In its own shift from a European-based to a postcolonial narrative, the Egyptian museum tradition has composed its 'language of ownership' by emphasizing the longevity of Egyptian identity. In Egypt, much of the architecture of display has remained the same, but the new narrative structure has reintegrated local cultures into one long indigenous tradition stretching back to predynastic Egypt. This integrated approach replaces the episodic approach of earlier museum practice by allowing multiple cultural reflections to occur simultaneously rather than progressively.

Museography, that is the study of the museum and its methods as a documentary form, can enhance the narratological study of Middle Eastern museums by adding a practical dimension to criticism. In referring to methods for arranging and describing museum contents, museography relates convention to ideology.

Egyptian museography is based on 150 years of modern precedent, two-thirds of which was developed in the Western tradition under French and British administration and the remainder of which has developed indigenously. The modern museum tradition in Egypt begins with Auguste Mariette in 1858.

The Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Institut Impérial de France) has heard with satisfaction from M. Mariette that His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt, Mohammed Said, has resolved to take effective measures for the conservation of ancient monuments, and has ordered the construction of a museum in which to deposit those ancient works still exposed to destruction, and which are able to be transported into the new establishment; and finally, that His Highness has given orders to the Conservator of the new Egyptian Museum to clear the temples, palaces, and ancient buildings still standing. This is perhaps the first time that a sovereign Moslem cares for the conservation of works of antiquity and gives such brilliant proof of his

⁹ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 29.

¹⁰ Ibid. 164.

enlightened zeal for the progress of the Sciences. (7 October 1859)¹¹

Methods of museum presentation directly reflect the conceptual development of their disciplines, so that the fundamental structure of all Egyptian museum display derives in part from the disciplinarity of early Egyptology. In its infancy, the Egyptian Museum was unrivaled in its significance to the epistemological development of Egyptology and its presentation was central to the discourse of the time.¹² As the country's capital museum, it also dominated her museology. In their description of the founding arrangements at the Boulaq Museum and succeeding arrangements at the Egyptian Museum between 1872 and 1946, Mariette (*Album du Musée*), Maspero (*Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* and *Guide to the Cairo Museum*), Quibell (*Some Notes on Egyptian History and Art*), and Engelbach (*ASAE* 40 and *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology*) illustrate the basic architecture and aesthetic of Egyptian museum display, still familiar today (figs. 1–7).

In form and tradition, the Arab Art (1884), Graeco-Roman (1892), Ethnographic (1895), Botanical (1898), Geological (1904), Entomological (1907), Coptic (1908), and Aswan (1912) Museums followed. The Ethnographic Museum found by the Khedivial Geographical Society in 1895 provided another forum for the Orientalist politics and cultural discourse of the day,¹³ but no other folk museums were born out of this era and it is likely that the early emphasis on monumental art history predicated their (still) slow development.

The Egyptian museum tradition has witnessed three distinct periods of growth and transformation in the 20th Century. The first of these occurred in the 1920s and 30s with the appearance of a modest number of museums devoted to modern history and industry in Egypt, including transportation, communication, agriculture, and hygiene. Egypt's first modern art museum was also established in Cairo in 1927, and a small regional museum appeared in the Middle Egyptian province of el-Minya during this time.

In the years leading up to and following the 1952 revolution, the Egyptian museum demographic was popularized with a series of museums dedicated to modern history and art, including several biographical collections, which were primarily located in and around Cairo, Alexandria, and the Delta region. These included the Mahmoud Khalil, Mostafa Kamel, Mohammed Nagy, and Hassan Heshmat Museums in Cairo, the Gezira Art Museum, the National Museum in Mansoura, the military museum in Alamein, and Alexandria's Museum of Modern Art.

Finally, in the last quarter of the 20th Century, the number and variety of museums in Egypt increased dramatically, with a sharp rise in the number of rural museums devoted to modern Egyptian art, history, and ethnography; a steady increase in modern history museums in Cairo; and a proliferation of new antiquities museums in every region of the country. The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art was established in 1975, followed by the Solar Boat Museum in Giza in 1982, the Nubia and Mummification Museums in 1997, the Museum of Islamic Ceramics in 1998, and the Antiquities Museum at the Library of Alexandria in 2000. Several regional archaeological museums were also established at this time, including those in

¹¹ Maspero, *ASAE* 2: 112.

¹² See Reid (*Whose Pharaohs*).

¹³ Ibid. 96.

Beni Suef, Mallawi, New Valley, and Port Said.

The development of Egyptian antiquities museums has continued steadily into the 21st Century with the inauguration of the National Museum in Alexandria in 2003 and the Imhotep Museum in 2006, in addition to the two ongoing museum projects in Giza and Fustat, and over a dozen local museum projects in development from the Sinai to Upper Egypt. Building on the impact of the original *Treasures of Tutankhamun* exhibitions, this latest generation of archaeology museums (1973-present) has dramatically increased the Egyptian museum range both geographically and thematically.

At the time of this research in 2005-2006 there were approximately 97 museums active in Egypt and at least 15 more in development (Table 2).¹⁴ Broadly, the past one hundred years have produced ten times the number of museums housing archaeological material than were found in the fifty years between 1858 and 1908, including a strong trend toward regionalization that began in the mid-1970s and a recent trend in specialized museum development that has produced a number of interpretive sites and theme museums since the late 1990s. The 20th Century also witnessed a significant increase in museums of local interest incorporating modern subjects and themes. The regionalization and specialization of cultural museums in general and archaeological museums in particular has resulted in increased local as well as global access to Egyptian heritage. Ethnographic exhibits are now represented in rural and frontier regions, and with the Nubia Museum as a model, other major museums of archaeology are integrating ethnographic themes into their exhibition and education programmes. Although Egyptian museums by and large uphold professional and commercial interests in Egyptian antiquity, they are gradually coming to address the public interests of Egyptian society.

Today, Egyptian museums operate under a centralized administration with oversight from various public ministries and institutions (Table 3). At least 75% of all Egyptian museums are centralized, and non-governmental, private, or shared museum administration is known in only fifteen cases. The Ministry of Culture governs two-thirds of the museums in Egypt, and that authority is split between the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and the Sector of Fine Arts (SFA). Each of these groups oversees two museum sets: the SCA 'antiquities' and 'historical', the SFA 'national-historical' and 'arts' (Tables 4-6).

Within the Ministry of Culture, antiquities museums represent Egyptian culture up to the era of Mohammed Ali (c.5500 BC-1805 AD), and historical museums represent Egyptian culture during and following the era of Mohammed Ali (1805-present). Antiquities subsets distinguish national or principal from regional or local museums. Arts museums include both fine art and art historical/biographical collections, and national-historical museums commemorate the making of modern Egypt. These categories represent official classifications and provide a useful framework for discussing museum organization within the Ministry of Culture. They do not, however, account for museums of ethnography or natural history, or for those in atypical situations. The full range of Egyptian museums is more usefully classified by subject-type using the five basic distinctions of archaeology (from prehistoric to Islamic), history, art, ethnography, and natural history.

As indicated in Table 6, there are three administrative tiers within the Ministry of Culture relevant to museum practice. Both the individual and national character of Egyptian museums

¹⁴ Note that this account excludes non-traditional museum forms, such as zoos, aquaria, planetaria, interpretive sites or installations, living history, children's, and outdoor museums.

is determined by their broad cultural administration within the SCA and SFA. Countrywide centralization rarely distinguishes the individual museum standard from the national museum standard, and generally encompasses everything from policy to programme.

The Egyptian curatorial tradition is absolutely fundamental to a broader understanding of narrative in that the arrangement of personnel governs the museum process. Within the SCA, staff curatorial appointments are classified by material type, and for Dynastic collections, by time period. Curatorial composition at the Coptic Museum, for example, is based on twelve museum sections, which are 1- icons, 2- wood, 3- stone, 4- manuscripts, 5- metals, 6- textiles, 7- ivory and bone, 8- ostraca, 9- fresco, 10- pottery and glaze, 11- glass, and 12- leather and reeds.¹⁵ The Islamic Museum has thirteen sections, which are 1- carpets and rugs, 2- textiles, 3- metalwork, 4- woodwork, 5- ivory and bone, 6- arms and armor, 7- ceramics and pottery, 8- marble, stone, and stucco, 9- manuscripts and bookbinding, 10- glass, 11- weights, stamps, and measures, 12- coins, and 13- jewelry.¹⁶ The Egyptian Museum has seven sections, which are 1- gold, jewelry, and Tutankhamun, 2- Old Kingdom, 3- Middle Kingdom, 4- New Kingdom, 5- Late Period and Graeco-Roman, 6- papyri and coins, and 7- ostraca, coffins, scarabs, and papyri. At the Egyptian Museum one head curator and four or more assistant curators are assigned to each section, and the seventh section has two head curators. Altogether, there are 8 head curators and 31 assistant curators, and of these 39, 30 are permanent and 9 are temporary.¹⁷ Permanent appointments are senior and temporary contracts are provisional appointments renewed on an annual basis. Along with the curatorial staff are 15 conservators (10 permanent and 5 temporary), 5 carpenters (1 permanent and 4 temporary), 17 object handlers (2 permanent and 15 temporary), 14 admissions staff (13 permanent and 1 temporary), 2 photographers, 4 public relations staff, over 90 security officers, and an undetermined number of technicians. The office of the director houses the General Director, five deputy directors, nine administrators, and three assistants. The café, bookshop, gift shop, bank, and custodial services at the museum are private contracts for which the administration is not responsible.

In the principal museum tradition, curatorial work consists of two roles referred to as committee work and public relations. Committee work encompasses major projects of collections management, conservation, study, and display, as well as routine tasks such as object movement, photography, label revision, gallery preparation, lighting, and furniture repair. Committees generally consist of three or more curators in addition to the technicians, carpenters, object handlers, security personnel, and specialists required by a particular project. The committee process determines the structure of daily activity and controls the movement of objects and information within the museum. It is commonly a lengthy and formal routine that occupies much of a curator's time, though some curators also collaborate on contract projects such as temporary and traveling exhibitions or film production.

The second main area of curatorial work, 'public relations', involves leading tours for VIP and student groups and assisting foreign researchers (the latter may also come within committee work). The office of public relations and its staff are responsible for coordinating

¹⁵ From www.copticmuseum.gov.eg.

¹⁶ From www.islamicmuseum.gov.eg.

¹⁷ From Egyptian Museum, pers. comm. April 2006.

and receiving special museum guests, who may be assigned a curator-guide for their visit. In this context, the public does not include tourists, whose experience is determined by private guides or guidebooks. The public relations office does not handle external and media relations, which are the responsibility of the SCA, museum director, and senior curatorial staff.

Museum curators typically possess baccalaureate or post-baccalaureate training. Professional tour guides on the other hand are certified through foreign language training and are regulated by the Ministry of Tourism. During peak tourist season, the Egyptian Museum may receive over 6500 visitors per day, and in that time an independent tour guide can earn as much as twenty times the monthly salary of a senior museum curator in just one week.¹⁸ The lack of instructional standards or guidelines for tour guides and the limited public impact of curators create a reciprocal tension that often adversely affects the museum experience for tourists and non-tourists alike.

For recent years, Egypt's top-visited cultural museums include the Egyptian, Solar Boat, Nubia, Luxor, and Graeco-Roman Museums, which hosted a combined average of about 2.5 million people per fiscal year from 2001 to 2004 (Table 7). The Egyptian Museum attracts around 1.7 million visitors per year, twice the average admission to all other major antiquities museums in Egypt combined. The Solar Boat Museum comes in at a distant second averaging around 206,300 visitors per year. The recently opened Mummification Museum in Luxor is close behind the top five in overall popularity and received just under half the number of visitors to the Luxor Museum, with an average of 73,000 visits per year during this period. By comparison with museums emphasizing Pharaonic and classical antiquity, the Coptic and Islamic Museums of Cairo operate on a modest scale with pre-renovation averages of around 43,600 and 21,600 visitors per fiscal year (2001-2003), respectively. The Aswan Museum received less than a fifth the number of visitors to the popular Nubia Museum at this time, however it still claimed much higher attendance than other local museums, with 29,500 visitors per year. Regionally, among the local antiquities museums of Beni Suef, Ismailia, Kom Oushim, Mallawi, New Valley, and San el-Hagar, annual visitorship ranged from 19,900 at the Mallawi Museum to only 2500 at the New Valley Museum. In terms of archaeology alone, rural museum attendance represented less than 2% of general museum admissions for this period, with stronger attendance in the provinces of Upper Egypt than in the Delta or frontier regions. Despite new trends in the tourist economy, with beach tourism on the rise, admissions to the major archaeological museums of Alexandria, Cairo, Luxor, and Aswan increased by over 60% from 2001 to 2004, and regional attendance rose by 20% in that time.

The Luxor Museum is second to the Egyptian Museum in terms of earned income (Table 8), and like the Egyptian Museum attracts a predominantly international audience. Of the 200,000 visitors to the Luxor Museum in 2004, 31,000 were Egyptian residents (Table 9). Compared with the previous calendar year, Egyptian attendance rose in pace with international attendance, maintaining a steady 16% of total admissions, and followed a similar pattern of seasonal highs and lows with peak local attendance from November through April and peak tourist attendance from October to March (figs. 9–10). Although the Egyptian Museum receives ten times as many visitors as the Luxor Museum, their audience profiles follow similar trends.

¹⁸ From Egyptian Museum, visitor logs and pers. comm. January 2006.

In contrast, both the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and the Nubia Museum are local destinations that secondarily support tourism. The Nubia Museum earns a much smaller percentage of national museum revenue than the Luxor Museum, but on average receives more visitors. In 2005, 57% of the Nubia Museum's total visitorship (179,951) was non-tourist and 40% of those admissions were students from local schools, representing an average of 112 Egyptian students per day.¹⁹

The new Library of Alexandria (Bibliotheca Alexandrina) is a self-directed public institution governed by an elected Board of Trustees. With a founding mission 'to be a center of excellence for the production and dissemination of knowledge, and to be a place of dialogue and understanding between cultures and peoples,'²⁰ the Library is an institution of means with a collection of over 400,000 books, an international advisory board, 1157 staff members, and three permanent museums.²¹ Its revenue sources include government grants and allocations (71%), cash donations (9%), operating revenue (7%), and interest income (12%).²² The Library's three permanent museums of archaeology, manuscripts, and science form part of its Academic and Cultural Sector. The BA Antiquities Museum is a uniquely cooperative administration in which the Library covers the museum's operating expenses and the SCA provides its staff and collections. The museum staff consists of 3 head curators, 9 assistant curators, 2 education coordinators, and 4 admissions staff appointed by the SCA, as well as a number of technicians, security officers, and digital guide managers appointed by the Library.²³ The museum director, with two administrators and three assistants, shares responsibility to the Library and the SCA. Curatorial divisions are similar to the traditional model, according to cultural period and material type, however in this case private tour guides are not permitted in the galleries and instead the curators act as professional guides and educators for the visiting public. In the fiscal year 2004-2005, 57% of visitors to the Library of Alexandria were local residents and its Antiquities Museum received 45,400 paid visitors.²⁴

Though economically significant, the earned income from Egypt's destination museums is culturally complex. Representing museums of archaeology, the local 16% of total admissions to the Luxor Museum in 2003 and 2004 earned the museum under 2% of its annual income from ticket sales (Table 10). Students represent a high percentage of Egyptian visitors and are typically admitted free of charge. Of the Nubia Museum's total admissions in 2005, 23% were complimentary (22.8% students, 0.2% VIP). That the overwhelming majority of national museum income is earned by foreign spending (over 70% of it at the Egyptian Museum alone) underscores the role of tourism in sustaining cultural museums and programmes that would otherwise be prohibitive for Egyptians, and highlights the responsibility of the SCA to maintain and develop those programmes.²⁵ Conversely, tourism itself may in some cases be

¹⁹ From Nubia Museum, visitor logs January 2006.

²⁰ Bibliotheca Alexandrina, *Annual Report July 2004-June 2005*, 5.

²¹ Ibid. 179, 188, 208.

²² Ibid. 159.

²³ Bibliotheca Alexandrina, pers. comm. February 2006.

²⁴ From Bibliotheca Alexandrina, *Annual Report July 2004-June 2005*, 183-4.

²⁵ Note that in museums governed by the Ministry of Culture all museum revenue and its reallocation is

a deterrent to local museum interest.

Both practically and conceptually, the division between Culture and Tourism in Egypt has a problematic effect on museum practice. There are effectively two separate museum publics in Egypt — tourist and non-tourist — and its public profile in part determines a museum's operation (figs. 11–12). The non-tourist audience, what could be considered the cultural audience, includes Egyptian citizens, students, researchers, and VIPs. Tourist-oriented museums are generally well represented in tourist literature, located in popular tourist areas along the Nile Valley, North Coast, and Red Sea, and attended by private tour groups, whose visits are scarcely controlled or influenced by a museum's administration. Local museums (or local programmes in high-profile museums) serve a predominantly Egyptian audience, often rely on professional curator-guides, and are in some cases too remote or obscure for non-native visitors to access.

The practical distinction between tourist and non-tourist museums however is not mutually exclusive, and increasingly there are compromises to facilitate all types of visitor in every type of museum. In general, there are far more museums of local or shared interest than there are museums sustained by tourism alone. The Solar Boat and other site museums (Imhotep, Merenptah) are almost exclusively dominated by tourism, however most of the major museums that serve tourists (including the capital four) have an increasingly positive local impact beyond the economic benefits of tourism.

In addition to tourist museums that double as cultural museums, there are three main types of museum with local impact. These are traditional museums of history, ethnography, and natural history in Cairo (particularly the Ethnographic and Agricultural Museums); newer museums of art, history, and science in greater Cairo and northern Egypt (particularly 20th Century national collections); and regional archaeological museums. Most of these routinely host local families, students, and specialists and house a variety of cultural programmes.

In general, the number of museums that now house cultural venues and education programmes is comparable to the number of museums that are limited to traditional display and exhibition. Many arts and culture museums house libraries, cultural centers, auditoriums, classrooms, and studios;²⁶ several antiquities museums have developed courses and public seminars in archaeology, gallery programmes and workshops for students, and classroom outreach.²⁷ These include the Egyptian Museum with its School and Library under separate managements, the Luxor and Mummification Museums, the Library of Alexandria, and a number of regional museums. The Nubia Museum is a celebrated example of new museum culture in Egypt, which integrates its traditional exhibition space aimed primarily at tourists with its role as a local community center.²⁸ In this capacity, the museum hosts extensive school programmes and public events that encompass the art, archaeology, culture, and environment of the region. In some cases, and with the aid of foreign funding, museum-based programmes for tourists have grown to include lectures, films, interactive guides, theme exhibits, and didactics; the National Museum in Alexandria stands out in this respects.

centralized, i.e. museum budgets are not proprietary.

²⁶ See www.fineart.gov.eg.

²⁷ See Baligh (*Bulletin*), Bibliotheca Alexandrina (*Annual Report*), Elmikaty (*Museum International*), Hawass (*Museum International*), el-Mallah (*Museum International*), and el-Saddik (*Bulletin*).

²⁸ See el-Meguid (*Bulletin* and *Museum International*).

With some very noteworthy exceptions, the museums with actual or potential local impact tend to have the most limited resources. This is particularly so with natural history collections in Cairo, which represent an extremely important but imperiled resource for Egyptian citizens, students, and researchers. The Entomological Museum of Cairo for example serves a small research community with a curatorial staff of four. Much like the nearby Egyptian Museum, it retains the traditional architecture and character of its founding in the early years of the 20th Century, but unlike the Egyptian Museum, its curators raise funds for the upkeep of collections and publication of research. In this, there is an important contrast between museums outside of the SCA, where barren of resources but free from the constraints of tourism and eager to have an impact, and destination museums within the SCA, where crippled by the tension between Culture and Tourism itself. It is telling that there are no dedicated museums of ethnography governed by the Ministry of Culture.

The exceptions are a prosperous fourth class of local museums, which includes the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the Nubia Museum, the Luxor and Mummification Museums, the Islamic Ceramics Museum, the Abdin Palace Museum, and a scatter of arts museums in greater Cairo. Curators at these museums are involved in guiding and instructing the public in their subjects, even without the infrastructure to study or publish their collections. With these museums lies a discernible trend in the professionalization of museum curatorship and education in Egypt, particularly as concerns art museums. The development of this trend to include more advanced curatorial functions in Egyptology and to deepen public awareness of the archaeological process in Egypt will depend on professional planning and evaluation within the SCA or in collaboration with foreign missions.

All forms of archaeological representation, which is the production of meaning through a visual language of communicating the past, rely on the repetition of certain themes to establish social legibility. Museums are one of archaeology's most important media, adding a material dimension to the visualization of history. By observing patterns in the arrangement and composition of archaeological displays, museum exhibition can be read as a visual narrative that negotiates ideological associations with the past.²⁹

As a product of the European imperial age, Egypt's early museography presented a segregated Oriental history to a metropolitan audience of European scholars and travelers. Colonial museum forms physically discriminated Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman from Coptic and Islamic, with the implication that a 'pure' Egyptian culture lay in its classical heritage. Fundamentally, Egyptian museum display is part of an encyclopedic tradition that uses visual conventions to transmit information and construct meaning. Add to this historical condition a centralized administration, a short supply of curatorial resources, a high national illiteracy rate, a diverse international audience representing a multitude of languages, and the conflicting interests of culture and tourism. The result (foreign influence notwithstanding) is a continued dependence on the visual or taxonomic relationship of objects to relate the story of Egypt's past. However, in the postcolonial-national tradition the boundaries instituted by early museum forms have faded. New museum forms merge the ancient Egyptian, Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic traditions into an overlapping Egyptian identity that lengthens

²⁹ See Bal (in Greenberg, *Thinking about Exhibitions* and in Preziosi and Farago, *Grasping the World*), Bennett (*Birth of the Museum* and in Macdonald, *Politics of Display*), Dias (in Macdonald, *Politics of Display*), and Moser (*Wondrous Curiosities* and in Hodder, *Archaeological Theory Today*).

the indigenous characterization to include the full span of Egyptian history. The new forms suggest that these cultural traditions are significant not in isolation from, but in relation to one another, as they share an essential 'Egyptian-ness'.

Relatively few museums in Egypt are devoted exclusively to Pharaonic antiquity, and for the most part, these are highly commercial museums attached to popular archaeological sites. Apart from these, the transformation of the traditional narrative takes three forms. In museums of archaeology, multiple periods of Egyptian history are presented simultaneously and a full order of Egyptian history from the Neolithic to the 19th Century is common; ancient themes underpin all modern museum subjects; and new forms of ethnographic display now appear in conjunction with archaeology.

In the long narrative, prehistoric, early to late Dynastic, late antique, and Islamic materials are typically presented in identical and repetitive terms, sometimes in a space with little barrier or transition from one to the next. Exhibit compositions are based on a formal order and classification consisting first of age, then form, then material. Exhibit form is based on distinctions between major object taxa (monumental architecture, relief, statuary, and stelae) and minor object taxa (ceramics, lithics, textiles, jewelry, figures, ostraca, papyri, and coins), which reflect disciplinary distinctions between art history and material culture. Material sub-categories include ceramic, glass, ivory, bone, metal, wood, stone, etc. Centerpieces of exhibits typically include highly recognizable or iconic items such as decorated predynastic pottery, Pharaonic offering tables, Coptic scripture, and Islamic lanterns. Mummification is the only ubiquitously thematic archaeological exhibit and as a theme it supersedes all other historical contexts. Displays associated with death and burial in ancient Egypt are always set apart from a museum's main exhibition with little attention to chronology. Writing and papyri is another common theme, but in general thematic exhibits are still far less common than taxonomic exhibits.

At the National Museum in Alexandria there are three floors of exhibition leading from early to modern Egypt (fig. 13). Inside the entrance hall, an Islamic lantern hangs above a Roman statue that leads visitors into the Pharaonic area. The exhibits begin on the lower level in the Old Kingdom and continue through the Middle and New Kingdoms, the Late Period, and the 'Tomb.' The period displays closely resemble one another, with seated figures, offering tables, stelae, and iconic statuary situated among groups of decorated pottery, ceramics, figurines, and jewelry. Located in a cellar-type room with a dark interior and low lighting, the tomb display includes a Late Period mummy and coffin group, a large statue of Anubis, and groupings of canopic jars, shabtis, amulets, and cartonnage. The Graeco-Roman displays on the main floor feature a similar configuration with large statues and mosaics in the central gallery, and groups of pottery, stone, and metal artifacts, coins, masks, and figurines around the periphery. A similar pattern occurs in the Coptic, Islamic, and Modern displays on the upper level. The Coptic galleries feature several stelae among pottery, metal, and textile groups, while the Islamic galleries feature large decorative objects (textile, stone, and wood) among groups of coins, weapons, ceramics, glass, and metal artifacts. Historical photographs line the Modern gallery, where the cases contain groups of coins, jewels, glass, metal, and china. The form of each permanent exhibit is indistinguishable from the others, and it is important to recognize this form as distinct from other types of temporary/thematic displays. It superimposes a very material relationship between native cultures over the episodic

expression of each individual period, and it is this pattern that establishes the legibility of Egyptian history.

The Antiquities Museum at the Library of Alexandria comprises '1079 objects that tell the story of Egypt from the predynastic through the Islamic periods'³⁰ (fig. 15). The ancient displays begin with a group of scribal artifacts (statues, figures, and tools), followed by a group of Old Kingdom alabaster vessels and display of New Kingdom limestone reliefs. In the 'Afterlife,' a Roman mummy is displayed with an assortment of burial equipment from the predynastic, New Kingdom, Late Period, and Ptolemaic traditions, and opposite the mummy in the center of the gallery is an offering table. In an arterial sequence the Pharaonic area leads into the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic exhibits and ultimately back to the Pharaohs. Here again, each period closely resembles the next in its composition. Classical statues appear in the middle of a large hall, surrounded by groups of Greek and Roman coins, jewels, urns, figurines, amulets, metal tools, wood tools, and masks. In the next hall are a Coptic lectern, Islamic prayer rug, and mashrabiya surrounded by Byzantine and then Arabic arrangements including oil lamps, ceramics, ostraca, textiles, ivory, bone, and wood; manuscripts, textiles, architecture, coins, lamps, writing instruments, ceramics, glass, metal, and porcelain. A small exhibit of Hieroglyphic, Coptic, and Arabic papyri completes the permanent exhibition.

At the Luxor Museum, despite its primary focus on New Kingdom Thebes there is one central exhibit that traces the region from the predynastic through the Islamic era. This exhibit brings together decorated predynastic pottery, early Dynastic divine figures, Old Kingdom stoneware, Theban tomb furniture, Third Intermediate Period burial items, Late Period and Ptolemaic offering tables, Coptic bronzes, and Mameluke ceramics, as well as groups of linens, papyri, and mummification materials.

The Nubia Museum's permanent exhibition is based on a long chronology from prehistory to the modern period with an added emphasis on folk culture. Beginning with Paleolithic tool groups, the course of this museum visits Neolithic and predynastic Nubia, the Pyramid Age, the Middle Kingdom, the Second Intermediate Period, the New Kingdom, the Late Period, the Roman occupation, the Christian and Islamic periods, Nubia in the 20th Century, and finally, contemporary folk life. Despite an emphasis on local chronology, the form is immediately recognizable and as before each composition overlaps with the next. Major monuments and cultural icons appear in the center of each gallery and analogous object classes line the edges. With dioramas there is an effort to make the ethnographic tableaux more lifelike than the preceding exhibits, but the themes and composition are consistent with the archaeological displays. The overall effect is a loop in time, which blurs the difference between any given "then" and now. Allegorically, there is no difference between a decorated jar from the 14th Century AD and one from the 4th Millennium BC, or between a Middle Kingdom amulet and one worn today, as they mirror each other across the galleries. Because the Nubia Museum is both a tourist destination and a community-based museum, its ideological perspective is significant. It suggests that the only way to view modern Egypt is by way of its past and embodies the notion that Egyptian traditions, and thus identities, have less meaning apart than together.

Other examples of this long narrative include the Beni Suef Museum (prehistoric to

³⁰ From Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum, digital guide 2006.

Islamic), the new el-Arish Museum (prehistoric to modern, including folk), the Islamic Ceramics Museum (Islamic, modern, and contemporary), the New Valley Museum (prehistoric to late antique), and the Aswan Museum (prehistoric to Islamic). Ever more inclusive, this narrative transposes the remote and recent pasts to create an identity that is larger than any single part. To this end, the new National Museum of Egyptian Civilization proposes to integrate all Egyptian cultures from prehistory to the present into a shared space of meaning, where 'Egypt's cultural unity precedes its political unity'.³¹

Representations of antiquity also grant an indigenous significance to secular history, and in this they signify a national identity that draws its legitimacy from the ancient past. Impressions of ancient Egypt appear in every modern museum subject from the military to the arts. These typically include replicas, models, graphics, and other art forms, and in many cases they include authentic objects; most focus on Pharaonic subjects and some include classical and Islamic themes. Common representations of ancient Egypt focus on divinity and kingship, writing, mummification, agriculture, and military themes.

Some examples include the Railway and Postal Museums, which have historical sections on communication and transportation stretching back to the First Dynasty (fig. 8). The Geological Museum has an exhibit on minerals and their uses in ancient Egypt, and the hunting museum at Manyal Palace displays a large illustration of prehistoric hunters in its entryway. The Entomological Museum has a case of insects from the tomb of Tutankhamun and the Military Museum in Cairo has one of his chariots, which is prominently displayed as a point of origin for the Egyptian military.

The Agricultural Museum is a study unto itself, incorporating both true specimens and casts from antiquity throughout its several museums and hundreds of exhibits, which cover the arts and ethnography, flora, fauna, and history of Egypt. In spite of the disrepair of some of its halls it is a relatively dynamic local museum that presents an encyclopedic history of Egyptian agriculture from its origins in prehistory to the present day, including two dedicated museums of archaeology and two neo-Pharaonic gardens. The first and newer ancient Egyptian museum is a complete and culturally sophisticated natural history covering the pre-to late Dynastic, and the second deals with the agricultural traditions of late antique and Islamic Egypt. The detailed execution of this museum in particular, with its emphasis on the antiquity of the land and its agriculture, suggests something more actual than Pharaonism.

Among its various references to antiquity, the Abdin Palace Museum features a modern king list that begins with Narmer and ends with Mubarak (fig. 14). The selection, dimensions, and configuration of leaders represented in this image are a local history of Egypt, wherein the nation's independence is aggrandized by its heritage. Sixty percent of the number, and half the visual balance, of individuals chosen are indigenous Egyptian Pharaohs, and Tutankhamun, who represents both ancient and modern Egypt, is the literal center of the narrative. The history represented by this account poetically joins the independent present to the indigenous past.

Representations of ancient Egypt have long been used to support the political agendas of Western nations, and to provide a romantic and exotic counterpart to Western cultures and societies. For the past two centuries Egypt's indigenous history has issued from Western disciplines and museums of Egyptology, which have traditionally neglected their subject's

³¹ el-Moniem, *Museum International* 225-226: 25.

relationship to modern Egypt. In the various ways explored in this paper, the postcolonial museum tradition in Egypt has itself defined that relationship as an inclusive identity that replaces the exclusive 'Egyptian-ness' granted to Pharaonic Egypt by European colonial interests. By allowing all Egyptian traditions to act as reflections of one another rather than disparate, linear segments, Egypt has redefined and reclaimed its indigenous heritage for a diversified and increasingly local audience.

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Table 1: An Egyptian chronology. To 642 AD, chronology follows Redford (*Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*).

PERIOD	DATES
Prehistoric	c.700,000-3050 BC
Paleolithic / Mesolithic	c.700,000-5500
Neolithic / Predynastic	c.5500-3050
Badarian	5500-4000
Naqada I	4000-3500
Naqada II	3500-3150
Dynasty "0"	c.3150-3050
Pharaonic	c.3050-333 BC
Early Dynastic (Dynasties 1-2)	c.3050-2687
Old Kingdom (Dynasties 3-6)	c.2687-2191
First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 7-11)	c.2190-2061
Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 11-14)	2061-c.1665
Second Intermediate Period (Dynasties 15-17)	c.1664-1569
New Kingdom (Dynasties 18-20)	c.1569-1081
Third Intermediate Period (Dynasties 21-23)	1081-c.711
Late Period (Dynasties 24-31)	724-333
Graeco-Roman	332 BC-337 AD
Macedonian	332-305 BC
Ptolemaic	305-31 BC
Roman	30 BC - 337 AD
Byzantine ('Coptic')	337-641 AD
Islamic	642-1798 AD
Umayyad Caliphate	661-750
Abbasid Caliphate	750-969
Tulunid Dynasty	868-905
Ikhshidi Dynasty	935-969
Fatimid Caliphate	969-1171
Ayyubid Sultanate	1171-1252
Mameluke Sultanate	1252-1517
Ottoman Rule	1517-1914
Modern	1798 AD-
French Occupation	1798-1801
Dynasty of Mohammed Ali Pasha	1805-1892
British Occupation	1882-1952
Semi-independence	1922-1952
Arab Republic of Egypt	1953-

Table 2: The museums of Egypt, 2006.

MUSEUM	TYPE	LOCATION	FOUNDING
1) 23rd July Revolution Museum	History	Gezira, Cairo	In development
2) Abdin Palace Museum	History	Abdin, Cairo	1998
3-9) Agricultural Museum	Natural History,	Doqqi, Giza	1938
Ancient Egypt 1	Archaeology		1938
Ancient Egypt 2	Archaeology		c.1996
Arabic Parlor	Ethnography		n/a
Arts Collection	Art		n/a
Cotton	History		1920
Plant Kingdom	History		1938
Scientific Collections	Ethnography		1938
10) Ahmed Shawqi Museum	History	Giza	1977
11) El-Alamein Museum	History (Military)	El-Alamein, Matrouh	1956
12) El-Arish Museum	Archaeology, Ethno.	El-Arish, North Sinai	In development
13-14) Aswan Museum	Archaeology	Elephantine, Aswan	1912
Original			1912
Annex (German-Swiss Excavations)			1998
15) El-Bahariya Oasis Heritage Museum	Ethnography	El-Bowait, el-Bahariya	1995
16) Bedouin Heritage Museum Matrouh	Ethnography	Mersa Matrouh, Matrouh	1983
17-18) Beni Suef Museum	Archaeology	Beni Suef	1997
Original			1997
New			In development
19-21) Bibliotheca Alexandrina	Library,	Chatby, Alexandria	2000
Antiquities Museum	Archaeology		2000
Manuscripts Museum	History		2002
Science Museum	History		2002
22) Botanical Museum (Herbarium)	Natural History	Kitchener, Aswan	1898
23) Carriage Museum	History	Salah el-Din, Cairo	1982
24) Cavafy Museum	History	Central Alexandria	1992
25) Chariots Museum	History	Boulaq, Cairo	1984
26) Coptic Museum	Archaeology	Old Cairo	1908
27) Dar el-Kutub Museum	History	Boulaq, Cairo	n/a
28) Denshoway Museum	History	Denshoway, Monofiya	1999
29) Education Museum	History	Central Cairo	n/a
30) Effat Nagy and Saad el-Khadem Museum	Art	Zaytoun, Cairo	n/a
31) Egyptian Museum (Boulaq/Giza /Tahrir)	Archaeology	Tahrir, Central Cairo	1858/1890/ 1902

MUSEUM	TYPE	LOCATION	FOUNDING
32) Enji Aflatoun Museum	Art	Helwan	2002
33) Entomological Museum	Natural History	Ramsis, Central Cairo	1907
34) Ethnographic Museum	Ethnography	Central Cairo	1895
35) El-Farafra Museum	Ethnography	El-Farafra	1985
36) Gawhara Palace Museum	History	Salah el-Din, Cairo	c.1982
37) Gayer-Anderson Museum (Beit el-Kiritliya)	History	Sayedza Zeinab, Cairo	1945
38) Geological Museum (Tahrir/Maadi)	Natural History	Athar el-Nabi, Maadi	1904/1982
39) Gezira Art Museum	Art	Gezira, Cairo	1957
40) Graeco-Roman Museum	Archaeology	Central Alexandria	1892
41) Grand Egyptian Museum	Archaeology	Giza	In development
42) Hassan Heshmat Museum	Art	Ain Shams Gharbiya, Cairo	1960
43) Hassan Tobar Museum	History	Manzalah, Dakahliya	n/a
44) Hurghada Museum	Archaeology	Hurghada, Red Sea	In development
45) Hygiene Museum	History	Abdin, Cairo	1927
46) Imhotep Museum	Archaeology	Saqqara	2006
47) Islamic Museum (Bab el-Futuh/Bab el-Khalq)	Archaeology	Bab el-Khalq, Cairo	1884/1903
48) Islamic Ceramics Museum	Archaeology/Art	Gezira, Cairo	1998
49) Ismailia Museum	Archaeology	Ismailia	n/a
50) Kafr el-Sheikh Museum	Archaeology	Kafr el-Sheikh	In development
51) Kom Ombo Museum (Sobek)	Archaeology	Kom Ombo	In development
52) Kom Oushim Museum	Archaeology	Kom Oushim, Fayyum	n/a
53) Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art	Archaeology	East Bank, Luxor	1975
54) Mahmoud Khalil Museum	Art	Giza	1962
55) Mahmoud Said Museum	Art	Janaklis, Alexandria	n/a
56) Mallawi Museum	Archaeology	Mallawi, el-Minya	1973
57) Mansoura Museum	Archaeology	Mansoura, Dakahliya	In development
58) Manyal Palace Museum	History	Manyal el-Roda, Cairo	c.1901
59) Marine Life Museum Alexandria	Natural History	Anfoushi, Alexandria	n/a
60) Marine Life Museum Hurghada	Natural History	Hurghada, Red Sea	n/a
61) Merenptah Temple Site Museum	Archaeology	West Bank, Luxor	2002
62) Military Museum Cairo (National)	History	Salah el-Din, Cairo	n/a
63) Military Museum Port Said	History	Port Said	n/a
64) El-Minya Museum	Archaeology	El-Minya	c.1937
65) Modern Art Museum Alexandria (Hussein Sobhi)	Art	Moharram Bey, Alexandria	c.1948
66) Modern Art Museum Cairo	Art	Gezira, Cairo	1927

MUSEUM	TYPE	LOCATION	FOUNDING
67) Modern Art Museum Port Said (el-Nasr)	Art	Port Said	1995
68) Mohammed Abd el-Wahab Museum	History	Ramsis, Central Cairo	c.2003
69) Mohammed Nagy Museum	Art	Giza	1968
70) Mohammed Waheed-Eddin Selim Museum	History	Matariya, Cairo	n/a
71) Mostafa Kamel Museum	History	Salah el-Din, Cairo	1956
72) Mukhtar Museum	Art	Gezira, Cairo	n/a
73) Mummification Museum	Archaeology	East Bank, Luxor	1997
74) National Museum Alexandria	Archaeology	Central Alexandria	2003
75) National Museum Mansoura (Dar Ibn Loqman)	History	Mansoura, Dakahliya	1960
76) National Museum of Egyptian Civilization	Archaeology	Fustat	In development
77) Naval Museum Alexandria	History	Stanli, Alexandria	1950
78) New Valley Museum (Kharga)	Archaeology	New Valley	1974
79) Nubia Museum	Archaeology/ Ethnography	Aswan	1997
80) Nubian Heritage Museum	Ethnography	Belana Awal, Aswan	In development
81) October 1973 War Panorama	History	Heliopolis	n/a
82) People's Assembly Museum	History	Central Cairo	1986
83) Police Museum Cairo (National)	History	Salah el-Din, Cairo	1987
84) Port Said Museum	Archaeology	Port Said	1987
85) Postal Museum Cairo (National)	History	Ataba, Cairo	1934
86) Qasr el-Aini Museum	History (Medicine)	Qasr el-Aini, Cairo	1998
87) Qena Museum	Archaeology	Qena	In development
88) Quseir Fort Visitors Center	Archaeology/ Ethnography	Quseir, Red Sea	c.1999
89) Railways Museum Cairo (National)	History	Ramsis, Central Cairo	1933
90) Rashid Museum	History	Rashid, el-Buheira	n/a
91) Rokn Helwan Museum	History	Helwan	1954
92) Romel's Cave	History	Mersa Matrouh, Matrouh	n/a
93) Royal Jewelry Museum Alexandria	History	Zizinia, Alexandria	1986
94) Saad Zaghloul Museum (Beit el-Umma)	History	Mounira, Cairo	n/a
95) San el-Hagar Museum	Archaeology	San el-Hagar, Sharqiya	n/a
96) Seized Museum (Confiscations)	Archaeology/History	Salah el-Din, Cairo	1992
97) Sharm el-Sheikh Museum	Archaeology	Sharm el-Sheikh, South Sinai	In development

MUSEUM	TYPE	LOCATION	FOUNDING
98) Shoubra Palace Museum (Mohammed Ali)	History	Shoubra el-Kheima, Cairo	n/a
99) Sinai Heritage Museum	Ethnography	El-Arish, North Sinai	1990
100) Siwa House Museum	Ethnography	Siwa	1990
101) Sohag Museum	Archaeology	Sohag	In development
102) Solar Boat Museum (Cheops)	Archaeology	Giza	1982
103) Suez Museum	Archaeology	Suez	In development
104) Taba Museum	Archaeology	Taba, South Sinai	n/a
105) Taha Hussein Museum	History	Giza	1997
106) Tanta Museum	Archaeology	Tanta, Gharbiya	n/a
107) Tell el-Amarna Museum (Akhenaten)	Archaeology	Amarna, el-Minya	In development
108) Tor Sinai Museum	Ethnography	El-Tor, South Sinai	1994
109) Umm Kalthoum Museum	History	Manyal el-Roda, Cairo	n/a
110) University Museum Cairo	History	Giza	1989
111) Wax Museum	History	Helwan	1934
112) Zagazig Museum (Heria Rezna)	History	Zagazig, Sharqiya	1973

Table 3: Egyptian museum administration.

MUSEUM	ADMINISTRATION
1) 23rd July Revolution Museum	Presidential (governing)/Ministry of Culture SFA (curatorial)
2) Abdin Palace Museum	Presidential (governing)/Ministry of Culture SCA (curatorial)
3-9) Agricultural Museum(s)	Ministry of Agriculture, Agricultural Museums Supervisor
10) Ahmed Shawqi Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
11) El-Alamein Museum	n/a
12) El-Arish Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
13-14) Aswan Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
Annex	German Institute of Archaeology (curatorial)
15) El-Bahariya Oasis Heritage Museum	Private
16) Bedouin Heritage Museum Matrouh	Association of Visitors to the Cultural Houses in Matrouh
17-18) Beni Suef Museum(s)	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
19-21) Bibliotheca Alexandrina	Board of Trustees
Antiquities Museum	Ministry of Culture SCA (curatorial)
Manuscripts Museum	Library
Science Museum	French Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (curatorial)
22) Botanical Museum	Ministry of Agriculture, Horticultural Research Institute
23) Carriage Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
24) Cavafy Museum	Greek Embassy in Cairo
25) Chariots Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
26) Coptic Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
27) Dar el-Kutub Museum	n/a
28) Denshoway Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
29) Education Museum	n/a
30) Effat Nagy and Saad el-Khadem Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
31) Egyptian Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
32) Enji Aflatoun Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
33) Entomological Museum	Ministry of Social Affairs (governing)/Entomological Society of Egypt (curatorial)
34) Ethnographic Museum	n/a (governing)/Geographical Society (curatorial)
35) El-Farafrā Museum	Private
36) Gawhara Palace Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
37) Gayer-Anderson Museum	Ministry of Culture SCA (governing)/British Mission to the Gayer-Anderson (curatorial)
38) Geological Museum	Ministry of Petroleum, Egyptian Mineral Resources Authority
39) Gezira Art Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
40) Graeco-Roman Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
41) Grand Egyptian Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities

MUSEUM	ADMINISTRATION
42) Hassan Heshmat Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
43) Hassan Tobar Museum	n/a
44) Hurghada Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
45) Hygiene Museum	Ministry of Public Works
46) Imhotep Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
47) Islamic Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
48) Islamic Ceramics Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
49) Ismailia Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
50) Kafr el-Sheikh Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
51) Kom Ombo Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
52) Kom Oushim Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
53) Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
54) Mahmoud Khalil Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
55) Mahmoud Said Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
56) Mallawi Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
57) Mansoura Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
58) Manyal Palace Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
59) Marine Life Museum Alexandria	n/a
60) Marine Life Museum Hurghada	n/a
61) Merenptah Temple Site Museum	Ministry of Culture SCA (governing)/Swiss Institute for Archaeology (curatorial)
62) Military Museum Cairo	Ministry of Defense
63) Military Museum Port Said	n/a
64) El-Minya Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
65) Modern Art Museum Alexandria	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
66) Modern Art Museum Cairo	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
67) Modern Art Museum Port Said	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
68) Mohammed Abd el-Wahab Museum	Ministry of Culture, Cairo Opera House
69) Mohammed Nagy Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
70) Mohammed Waheed-Eddin Selim	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
71) Mostafa Kamel Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
72) Mukhtar Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
73) Mummification Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
74) National Museum Alexandria	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
75) National Museum Mansoura	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
76) National Museum of Egyptian Civilization	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
77) Naval Museum Alexandria	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities (Museums Sector Directorate)
78) New Valley Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
79) Nubia Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities

MUSEUM	ADMINISTRATION
80) Nubian Heritage Museum	Nubian Heritage Preservation Association
81) October 1973 War Panorama	n/a
82) People's Assembly Museum	Egyptian People's Assembly
83) Police Museum Cairo	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
84) Port Said Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
85) Postal Museum Cairo	Ministry of Communications, National Mail Service
86) Qasr el-Aini Museum	Cairo University, Faculty of Medicine
87) Qena Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
88) Quseir Fort Visitors Center	Ministry of Culture SCA (governing)/ American Research Center in Egypt (curatorial)
89) Railways Museum Cairo	Ministry of Transport
90) Rashid Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
91) Rokn Helwan Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
92) Romel's Cave	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
93) Royal Jewelry Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
94) Saad Zaghloul Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
95) San el-Hagar Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
96) Seized Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
97) Sharm el-Sheikh Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
98) Shoubra Palace Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
99) Sinai Heritage Museum	Sinai Heritage Museum Association
100) Siwa House Museum	n/a
101) Sohag Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
102) Solar Boat Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities (Museums Sector Directorate)
103) Suez Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
104) Taba Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
105) Taha Hussein Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
106) Tanta Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
107) Tell el-Amarna Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities
108) Tor Sinai Museum	n/a
109) Umm Kalthoum Museum	n/a
110) University Museum	Cairo University
111) Wax Museum	Ministry of Culture, Sector of Fine Arts
112) Zagazig Museum	Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities

Table 4: Egyptian museum sets (SCA).

ANTIQUITIES MUSEUMS	
National (Principal) 1) Coptic Museum 2) Egyptian Museum 3) Graeco-Roman Museum 4) Islamic Museum 5) National Museum Alexandria 6) National Museum of Egyptian Civilization Regional (Local) 1) El-Arish Museum 2) Aswan Museum 3-4) Beni Suef Museum(s) 5) Hurghada Museum 6) Ismailia Museum 7) Kafr el-Sheikh Museum 8) Kom Oushim Museum 9) Mallawi Museum 10) Mansoura Museum 11) El-Minya Museum 12) New Valley Museum 13) Port Said Museum	14) Qena Museum 15) San el-Hagar Museum 16) Sharm el-Sheikh Museum 17) Sohag Museum 18) Suez Museum 19) Taba Museum 20) Tanta Museum 21) Tell el-Amarna Museum Site / Other 1) Aswan Museum, Annex 2) Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum 3) Grand Egyptian Museum 4) Imhotep Museum 5) Kom Ombo Museum 6) Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art 7) Merenptah Temple Site Museum 8) Mummification Museum 9) Nubia Museum 10) Quseir Fort Visitors Center 11) Solar Boat Museum
HISTORICAL MUSEUMS	
1) Abdin Palace Museum 2) Carriage Museum 3) Chariots Museum 4) Gawhara Palace Museum 5) Gayer-Anderson Museum 6) Manyal Palace Museum 7) Naval Museum 8) Police Museum	9) Rashid Museum 10) Rokn Helwan Museum 11) Romel's Cave 12) Royal Jewelry Museum 13) Seized Museum 14) Shoubra Palace Museum 15) Zagazig Museum

Table 5: Egyptian museum sets (SFA).

ARTS MUSEUMS	
Biography 1) Effat Nagy and Saad al-Khadem Museum 2) Enji Aflatoun Museum 3) Hassan Heshmat Museum 4) Mohammed Nagy Museum Fine Arts 1) Gezira Art Museum 2) Islamic Ceramics Museum	3) Mahmoud Khalil Museum 4) Mahmoud Said Museum 5) Modern Art Museum Alexandria (Hussein Sobhi) 6) Modern Art Museum Cairo 7) Modern Art Museum Port Said (el-Nasr) 8) Mohammed Waheed-Eddin Selim Museum 9) Mukhtar Museum
NATIONAL-HISTORICAL MUSEUMS	
1) 23rd July Revolution Museum 2) Ahmed Shawqi Museum 3) Denshoway Museum 4) Mostafa Kamel Museum	5) National Museum Mansoura 6) Saad Zaghloul Museum 7) Taha Hussein Museum 8) Wax Museum

Table 6: Typical structure of Egyptian museum administration.

MINISTRY OF CULTURE	
CULTURAL ADMINISTRATION	
Director General	Secretary General
SECTOR OF FINE ARTS	SUPREME COUNCIL OF ANTIQUITIES
MUSEUMS ADMINISTRATION	
Technical Support for Museums and Exhibitions	Museums Sector
MUSEUM MANAGEMENT	
Arts Museums (13)	Antiquities Museums (38)
National Historical Museums (8)	Historical Museums (15)

Table 7: Museum visitors (SCA museums, fiscal years 2001-2004). Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, Statements 2002, 2003, 2005

MUSEUM	VISITORS 2001-2002	VISITORS 2002-2003	VISITORS 2003-2004	TOTAL 2001-2004
1) Egyptian Museum	1,238,602	1,761,541	2,087,947	5,088,090
2) Solar Boat Museum	162,762	188,537	267,621	618,920
3) Nubia Museum	153,027	178,700	204,484	536,211
4) Luxor Museum	122,249	117,123	218,494	457,866
5) Graeco-Roman Museum	148,143	115,083	168,693	431,919
6) Mummification Museum	49,075	54,344	115,713	219,132
7) Manyal Palace Museum	67,550	63,399	73,279	204,228
8) Royal Jewelry Museum	118,112	83,651	--	201,763
9) Coptic Museum	40,749	46,456	2,828	90,033
10) Aswan Museum	23,989	33,209	31,374	88,572
11) Mallawi Museum	20,179	19,629	19,884	59,692
12) Zagazig Museum	12,462	16,137	17,412	46,011
13) Islamic Museum	24,189	19,138	--	43,327
14) Romel's Cave	21,090	20,970	--	42,060
15) Gayer-Anderson Museum	11,547	10,872	18,735	41,154
16) Beni Suef Museum	6,747	8,220	11,197	26,164
17) San el-Hagar Museum	6,319	2,400	5,797	14,516
18) Ismailia Museum	4,097	3,718	5,367	13,182
19) Kom Oushim Museum	3,462	3,845	4,148	11,455
20) New Valley Museum	2,095	2,939	2,727	7,761
21) Rashid Museum	3,984	1,354	94	5,432

Table 8: Museum revenue (SCA, fiscal years 2001-2004), in USD (estimated at LE 5.75 = 1 USD). Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, Statements 2002, 2003, 2005.

MUSEUM	REVENUE 2001-2002	REVENUE 2002-2003	REVENUE 2003-2004	TOTAL 2001-2004
1) Egyptian Museum	5,464,588	6,650,779	6,718,379	18,833,746
2) Luxor Museum	537,273	2,018,144	766,373	3,321,790
3) Solar Boat Museum	363,919	454,995	755,717	1,574,631
4) Nubia Museum	163,857	198,340	269,787	631,984
5) Graeco-Roman Museum	141,959	174,366	279,122	595,447
6) Mummification Museum	157,074	156,559	257,945	571,578
7) Coptic Museum	74,420	84,322	3,807	162,549
8) Manyal Palace Museum	32,141	32,183	60,327	124,651
9) Royal Jewelry Museum	57,643	42,329	--	99,972
10) Gayer-Anderson Museum	24,497	23,630	41,672	89,799
11) Aswan Museum	25,541	27,233	36,036	88,810
12) Islamic Museum	25,218	23,865	560	49,643
13) Kom Oushim Museum	1,765	19,903	2,485	24,153
14) San el-Hagar Museum	5,877	7,125	8,808	21,810
15) New Valley Museum	3,533	4,993	7,355	15,881
16) Romel's Cave	2,217	2,412	--	4,629
17) Zagazig Museum	1,268	1,531	1,823	4,622
18) Beni Suef Museum	917	986	1,448	3,351
19) Ismailia Museum	910	802	996	2,708
20) Mallawi Museum	635	624	581	1,840
21) Rashid Museum	144	107	8	259

Table 9: Luxor Museum visitor profile (2003-2004). Luxor Museum, visitor records January 2006.

MONTH	EGYPTIAN 2003	EGYPTIAN 2004	INTERNATIONAL 2003	INTERNATIONAL 2004
January	4,246	6,478	12,358	16,877
February	2,679	7,099	11,981	18,971
March	2,513	6,337	9,432	19,190
April	1,036	3,982	7,754	18,492
May	419	580	4,176	10,208
June	357	587	2,731	4,828
July	558	748	4,688	8,571
August	681	656	8,219	11,862
September	538	738	7,797	11,726
October	736	630	11,851	17,343
November	1,229	1,220	11,709	16,576
December	6,020	2,001	12,337	14,228
YEAR	21,012	31,056	105,033	168,872

Table 10: Luxor Museum revenue profile (2003-2004), in USD (estimated at LE 5.75 = 1 USD). Luxor Museum, records January 2006.

MONTH	EGYPTIAN 2003	EGYPTIAN 2004	INTERNATIONAL 2003	INTERNATIONAL 2004
January	2,156	2,902	61,550	84,929
February	1,347	3,178	58,857	94,690
March	1,104	2,537	47,181	97,925
April	500	1,668	37,576	90,892
May	271	374	20,632	51,697
June	208	352	13,057	23,755
July	339	1,491	22,135	41,301
August	408	585	38,797	57,683
September	333	455	38,491	59,337
October	429	388	58,977	85,450
November	624	1,341	59,264	155,462
December	2,379	2,047	59,862	129,424
YEAR	10,098	17,318	516,379	972,545



Fig. 1: Salle du centre (nef principale) at the Boulaq Museum in Cairo, 1872 [Délié and Béchard from *Travelers in the Middle East Archive*, <http://hdl.handle.net/1911/10225>].



Fig. 2: Salle du centre (nef latérale) at the Boulaq Museum in Cairo, 1872 [Délié and Béchard from *Travelers in the Middle East Archive*, <http://hdl.handle.net/1911/10226>].

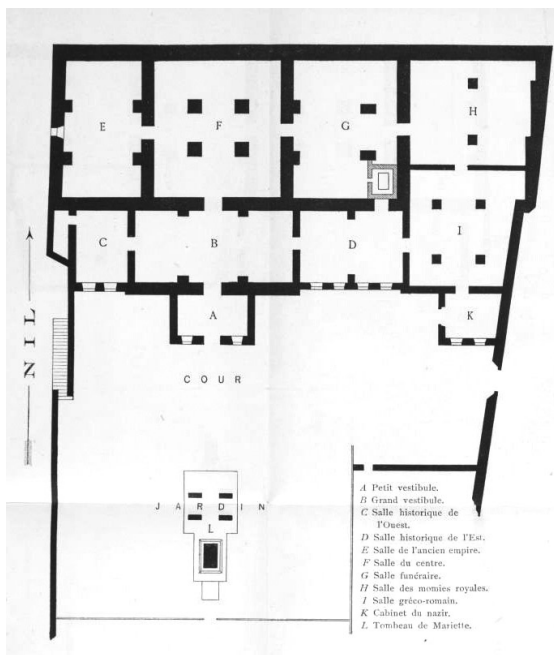


Fig. 3: Plan of the Boulaq Museum in Cairo, 1883 [Maspero from *Travelers in the Middle East Archive*, <http://hdl.handle.net/1911/9182>].



Fig. 4: Gallery of Egyptian gods at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 2006.



Fig. 5: Funerary gallery at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 2006.



Fig. 6: Graeco-Roman gallery at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 2006.



Fig. 7: Gallery of tools and implements at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 2006.



Fig. 8: Historical section at the Postal Museum in Cairo, 2006.

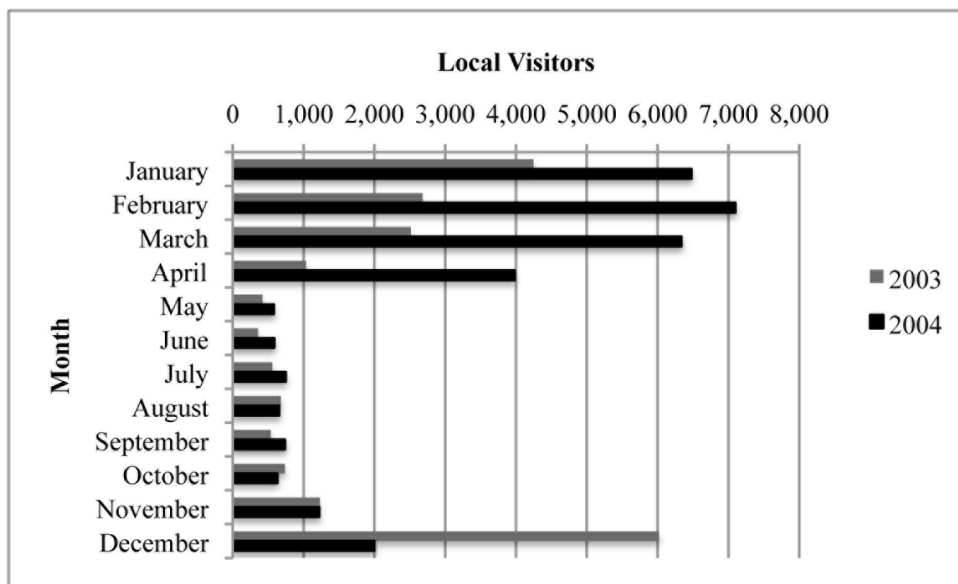


Fig. 9: Local visitor trends at the Luxor Museum, 2003, 2004.

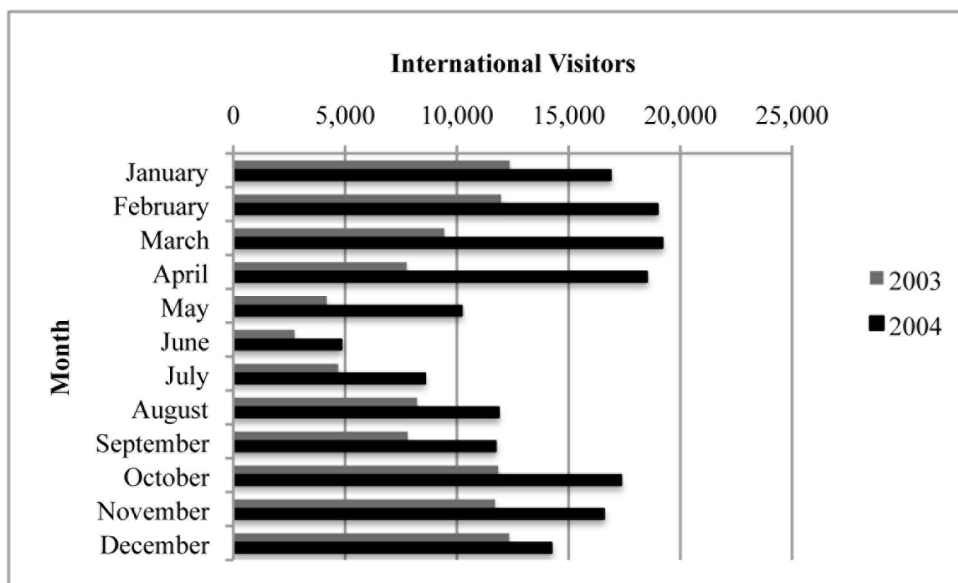


Fig. 10: International visitor trends at the Luxor Museum, 2003, 2004.



Fig. 11: Private museum tour at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 2006.



Fig. 12: Public museum tour at the Abdin Palace Museum in Cairo, 2006.



Fig. 13: Introductory panel at the National Museum in Alexandria, 2006.

Fig. 14: [Left] Panel of Egyptian rulers at the Abdin Palace Museum in Cairo, 2006.

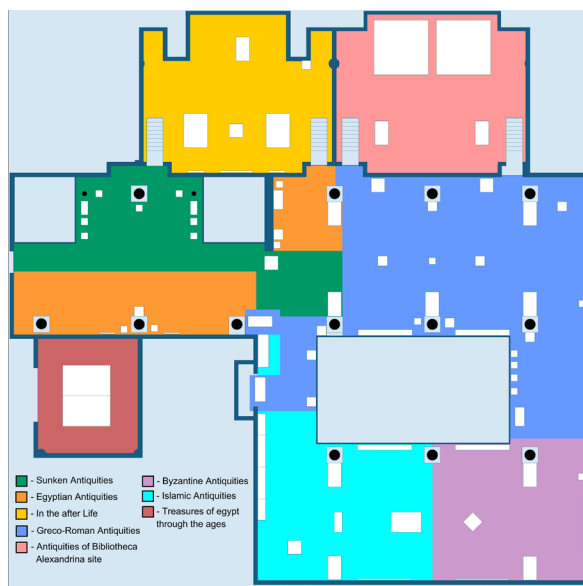


Fig. 15: Plan of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum, 2006 (image courtesy of the museum).



Tombos and the Viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu

W. Vivian Davies

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Tombos and the Viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu

W. Vivian Davies

As part of a wider investigation of Egyptian inscriptions in the Northern Sudan, the British Museum has begun a project of epigraphic survey at Tombos near the Third Cataract,¹ well known as the site of major pharaonic stelae documenting Egypt's conquest and occupation of Kush in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. I published here the first results of the project: a new record of an important viceregal inscription located on Tombos Island (figs. 1–5; front cover).² I also consider related material from the collection of the British Museum and from the temples of Semna and Kumma (now housed in the garden of the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum).

Island of Tombos, Inscription of Year 20 of Thutmose III

Cut into the northern face of a low, granite boulder, located not far from the river-bank in the south-east of the island (fig. 1 [91/17] and 2),³ the inscription, now incomplete owing to lamination of parts of the surface, is arranged in eight horizontal lines, the hieroglyphs reading right to left (figs. 3–4). Only the final line, damaged in parts, is preserved along its entire length.⁴ There is no trace of paint within the hieroglyphs. Marking the successful outcome of a punitive expedition carried out in Year 20 of King Thutmose III, the text invokes benefits for the viceroy responsible (name deliberately damaged), boasting of his effectiveness in delivering southern goods and of his favourable reception by the king. It was discovered by the University of Chicago Egyptian Expedition in 1907, briefly described by Breasted in 1908,⁵ and subsequently published in full by Säve-Söderbergh in 1941,⁶ since when it has been much cited and discussed.⁷

¹ PM VII, 174–5.

² The basic record was made in November 2006.

³ PM VII, 175 (Island); Edwards and Salih, *The Mahas Survey 1991*, 24–5, pl. vii (ref. 91/17). The choice of this particular boulder was probably influenced by practical concerns. Its relatively smooth, vertical northern side offered an ideal surface for such an inscription and is set at a convenient height (front cover). It is one of a large outcrop of such boulders (fig. 2) a group of which, further to the north, is decorated with native rock-art (ibid., 24, ref. 91/16). Beyond, near the northern tip of the island, is another Egyptian inscription (ibid., 26–7, pl. viii, ref. 91/13), which appears to comprise a Nile-level, dated to Year 10 of an unidentified king. The position of these stations (and the other major inscriptions on the mainland) is indicated in fig. 1.

⁴ The length of the final line is approx. 1.16m. The maximum surviving height of the inscription is 630mm.

⁵ Breasted, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 25, 47–8.

⁶ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 175–6 and 207–9, with fig. 16 (publishing Breasted's photograph with handcopy). Cf. the more recent photograph in Edwards and Salih, *The Mahas Survey 1991*, 25, pl. vii, and Edwards, *The Nubian Past*, 103–4, fig. 4.11, and the handcopy (based on the Säve-Söderbergh publication) in *Urk.* IV, 1375, 3–19.

⁷ On the military campaign, see, for example, Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 60–1; Reineke in Endesfelder *et al.*, *Ägypten und Kusch*, 372–3; Zibelius-Chen, *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien*, 195,

In dispute from the beginning has been the reading of the damaged name of the viceroy, 'the king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands', an issue which has bearing on the question of the number and identity of the viceroys who served during the co-regency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.⁸ To date, only one viceroy is attested with certainty for the period of the co-regency, namely Amenemnekhu (*Imn-m-nhw*). He is known from several rock-inscriptions at different sites in Nubia (see further below), one of which (at Shalfak) is dated to Year 18.⁹ In a number of cases (twice in the same context at Shalfak and once at Sehel),¹⁰ his name has been officially effaced. Of the other attested viceroys of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, only Usersatet (temp. Amenhotep II) appears to have certainly suffered similar persecution.¹¹ There must therefore be a high probability that Amenemnekhu is the viceroy named in the Tombos Island inscription. As will be seen below, this inference is well founded, though there is an unexpected twist to the tale.

The viceroy of the Tombos Island inscription is named twice, at the end of lines 5 and 8 respectively. In the interpretation of the traces remaining in the first case, scholarly opinion has been largely divided between the reading Iny (Any)¹² and Inebny,¹³ the latter reading supported by the fact that a 'king's son' named Inebny is known from a contemporary source, the famous painted limestone statue, British Museum EA 1131 (figs. 6–7).¹⁴ There appears to have been a general assumption that the second example of the name in the

with n. 356, and 222, with n. 168; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* 5:2, 3; Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt*, 90; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 190, with n. 28; Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*, 38, with n. 8; Bryan in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 79; Spalinger in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 354; Popko, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung*, 134.

⁸ Habachi, *LÄ* 3, 631, nos. 6–7; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* 5:2, 7; el-Sabbahy, *GM* 129, 99–102; Pamminger, *GM* 131, 97–100; Dziobek, *GM* 132, 29–32; Helck, *ZÄS* 121, 39–40; Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 136–7; Bács in Bács (ed.), *Studies Gaál, Luft, Török*, 56–8; Gasse and Rondot, *Sudan & Nubia* 7, 42, Table 1; Davies in Roehrig *et al*, *Hathsepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 53–4; Bryan in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 102; Spalinger in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 353.

⁹ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien* I, 90, no. 365, II, 122, no. 365.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 90, nos 365–6, II, 122, nos 365–6; Gasse and Rondot, *Sudan & Nubia* 7, 43, fig. 4; Gasse and Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, 136 and 481 (SEH 241).

¹¹ Schulman, *JARCE* 8, 36, n. 68; Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouch* I, 534–5; Müller, *Die Verwaltung der nubischen Provinz im Neuen Reich*, 173–6, no. 8; Habachi, *LÄ* 3, 632, no. 10; Gasse and Rondot, *Sudan & Nubia* 7, 43–4, pl. 4; Gasse and Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, 147–154. There is no clear evidence that the name of the viceroy Seni was ever deliberately effaced (Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouch* I, 534–5). The identity of the king and viceroy figured on the stela from Sai Island, S. 63 (see most recently Minault-Gout, *CRIPPEL* 26, 282, with n. 35), remains to be clarified (Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouch* I, 32, C, and 458–9, Doc. X.2).

¹² Breasted, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 25, 47–8; Edel cited in Hintze, *Kush* 9, 14, n. 12; Dewachter, *RdE* 28, 153, n. 20; Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouch* I, 37–8, Doc. 29; Müller, *Die Verwaltung der nubischen Provinz im Neuen Reich*, 169–70, no. 5, and 478, 57.1; Habachi, *LÄ* 3, 631, nos 6–7 (sources confused); Edwards and Salih, *The Mahas Survey 1991*, 24–5, pl. vii (ref: 91/17); Dziobek, *GM* 132, 30–1; Dziobek in Assmann, *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 134; Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 136–7; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 71, n. 561; Edwards, *The Nubian Past*, 103–4, fig. 4.11.

¹³ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 175–6 and 208; *Urk.* iv, 1375, 12 and 19, with n. a; Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung*, 67, no. 416; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 7–8; el-Sabbahy, *GM* 129, 100–1; Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*, 171, n. 8; Spalinger in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 353.

Tombos Island inscription, in line 8, was a repetition of that in line 5, though it has also been argued that *'Imn-m-nhw* might be read in line 8 and a shortened or diminutive form in line 5.¹⁵

Our new record of the inscription, with details enlarged, is reproduced in photograph and facsimile in figs. 3, 5, 8–9, and figs. 4 and 10, respectively. It can be seen that, despite the ancient attempts to obliterate the names by deliberately lowering the surface of the stone at the appropriate points, the outlines of the individual hieroglyphs are still for the most part preserved (figs. 5, 8–10). There is little doubt that the first name is *Inbny* (written as in the horizontal line 12 of the British Museum statue, fig. 6), while the second name is certainly *'Imn-m-nhw*.¹⁶ In the case of the former, only the *n*-sign underneath the *nb*-sign is not entirely clear. In the latter, the name-determinative, once located under the arm-holding-stick-hieroglyph, is lost.

With these names included (fig. 4), the inscription may be read as follows:¹⁷

1. [Ye]ar 20. The good god, who overthrew the one who attacked him [...]
2. house (?)^a of his father^b, who gave strength (?)^c [and ?...]^d
3. [...] ^e Menkheperre^f [beloved of] A[mun]...]^g
4. A gift that [the king gives] and Amun, [lo]rd of the thrones of the two lands and the Ennead which is in Ta-Sety, that they may give valour, vigilance [and ...]^h
5. [in fr]ont of the kingⁱ and life, health, prosperity and alertness in the favour of the king, and eve[ry good] and pure thing for the spirit of the king's son, overseer of southern^j foreign lands, Inebny,
6. [he says: I am an] effective [servant] of his lord, who filled his house with [gold],^{k, l} jasper, ivory, ebony, and tishepes-wood,
7. [with] [sk]in^m of panthers, khesayet-spice and incense of the Medjau,
8. with the riches of vile Kush;ⁿ one who was caused to ascend to the palace of the lord of the two lands,^o who entered favoured and left beloved,^p king's son, Amenemnekh.

^a The 'house'-hieroglyph here is taken (not impossibly) as the substantive 'house', 'temple' by Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 208, fig. line 2, and *Urk.* IV, 1375,4, with *kd* 'build' restored before it. However, since it lacks the stroke-determinative, which is present in the example of the word in line 6, it could possibly itself

¹⁴ PM I², 2, 788, Salt Collection, from Thebes, Ht: 520mm; *HTV*, 10, pl. 34, no. 374; *Urk.* IV, 464–5; Schmitz *Untersuchungen*, 270, no. 3; James and Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 63, fig. 69; Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, 379–80, no. 219, pl. 98c, d; Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 121–2 [45]; Bács in Bács (ed.), *Studies Gaál, Luft, Török*, 57, n. 27; Davies in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hathsepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 54; Roehrig in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hathsepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 56–7 [26]. The name (PN I, 5, no. 18) occurs twice, in line 12 of the horizontal inscription on the front of the body of the statue, and line 7 (the final column) of the inscription on the pedestal (fig. 6).

¹⁵ Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouch* I, 38; Pamminger, *GM* 131, 98–100; cf. Budka, *Kemet* 2, 62, and Budka in Amenta *et al.* (eds), *L'acqua nell'antico Egitto*, 113.

¹⁶ The disposition of the signs is paralleled in the writing of the name at Sehel; see Gasse and Rondot, *Sudan & Nubia* 7, 43, fig. 4; Gasse and Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, 136 and 481 (SEH 241).

¹⁷ Among previous translations, in whole or part, see Breasted, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 25, 47–8; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 208; Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung*, 67, no. 416; Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty* fasc.2, 92, no. 416; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 8; Budka, *Kemet* 2, 62; Budka in Amenta *et al.* (eds), *L'acqua nell'antico Egitto*, 112–13.

be a determinative, of a word like *šn'w*, 'storeroom', 'labour establishment', '*šn*-Betriebe', which is commonly attested in the context of military victory by the king with prisoners taken to 'fill the *šn*' of his father (Amun) or similar; cf. *Wb.* 4, 507, 12; Polz, *ZÄS* 117, 47, n. 28; Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des "Hauses des Amun"*, 97–8, with n. 451; Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 182; Hallmann, *Die Tributzinsen des Neuen Reiches*, 42, n. 288, 226, n. 1532, 233 and 299.

^b There is a natural hole in the surface above the *f*, which the sculptors avoided and worked around.

^c With Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 208, *Urk.* IV, 1375, 5, and Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung*, 67, no. 416, taking *ht* here as a writing of *nht/nhwt* or *nhtw*, 'Stärke' or 'Sieg', an attribute or outcome granted by Amun to the king (cf. *Wb.* 2, 316, 13; Galán, *Victory and Border*, 52–3 (IV) and 54–5 (VI)).

^d The remains of a sign, or possibly two signs, are discernible above the cartouche in line 3.

^e Of the first half of the line there survives a tiny remnant only, located immediately above the third *nst*-sign (of *nb nswt t3ny*) in line 4.

^f Despite the partial loss of the end of the name, the reading Menkheperre, the prenomen of Thutmose III (as opposed to Menkheprure, the prenomen of Thutmose IV), is assured (cf. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 6–9). g. Reading the remnant following the cartouche as the bottom of the *i* of *Imn*; cf. *Urk.* iv, 1375, 7; Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung*, 67, no. 416, n. 3.

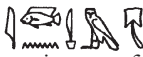
^h I take the vertical sign following the *tp* (of *rs(w)-tp*) as its stroke determinative. The identity of the fragmentary sign following remains uncertain. On the attributes commonly included in this version of the offering formula, see Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 97 and 122 (Bitte 122).

ⁱ Reading *[m]-b3h nswt*. For the expression in such formulae, see Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 97, Bitte 122, b, with n. 3; cf. *Urk.* iv, 1614, 13. For the seated king hieroglyph as a writing of *nswt*, cf., for example, *Urk.* IV, 74, 14 (Fecht, *ZÄS* 91, 58).

^j Note the abbreviated writing of *nswt*, with a *t* displacing the normal *r* of *rs* (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 482, M 24), as in the inscription of Amenemnekhu from Tangur; see Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien*, I, 173, no. 564, II, 240, no. 564, and possibly also I, 171, no. 558, II, 237, no. 558.

^k Reading *[dd.f ink b3k] 3h n nb.f mh pr.f m [nbw]*. The suggested restorations fit the lacunae and suit the context; cf. the Ibrim inscription of the viceroy Nehy, Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, 41, pl. 10, line 2 (= *Urk.* IV, 984, 7–9); Hallmann, *Die Tributzinsen des Neuen Reiches*, 19. Other suggestions (*Urk.* IV, 1375, 13; Gutgesell and Schmitz, *SAK* 9, 133, n. 14) are less convincing. On the phrase *b3k 3h n nb.f*, including the Tombos example, see Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 86 and 223–4 (106) 01–03, to which add *HT* vi, 11, pl. 47, no. 371 (BM EA 1199), line 2 = Frood, *JEA* 89, 60, fig. 1, line 2, and 65, pl. iv, and Davies, *The Tomb of Khen-amûn at Thebes*, 44, pl. xlv, 7.

^l On the various commodities listed here, see Drenkhahn, *Darstellungen von Negern*, 125–6, 130–1, 132–3, 137–8; Zibelius-Chen, *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien*, 73–80, 85–86 (with n. 152), 91, 93–4 (with n. 253), 96–8 (with n. 291), 99–100 (with n. 306), 107–8 (with n. 393), and 112–4; on khesayet and tishepes, see Edel 1984, 190, no. 5, and 191, with n. 6; Koura, *Die "7-Heiligen Öle"*, 234–5 and 238–40; on Nubia as a source of gold, ivory and ebony, see Hikade, *Das Expeditionswesen im ägyptischen Neuen Reich*, 71–5 and 92–5, ns. 402, 515.

^m Restoring . The *n*-sign is clear, the bottom of the *nm*-sign survives, and the skin-determinative is certain. There is room for an *m* at the beginning of the line, preceding *inm*.

ⁿ Despite the partial loss, the reading *m špsw* or *špsw n Kš hst* here is clear. On '*špsw*-Kosten' in such contexts, see Hallmann, *Die Tributzinsen des Neuen Reiches*, 293–4. The top of the *t* of *hst* survives.

^o On *s'r* in this sense, cf. the contemporary parallel, *Urk.* IV, 897, 6, cited in *Wb.* 4, 32, 11. The reading *t3ny* (misinterpreted by Breasted, see Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 208, fig. line 8, with n. j) is definite. The second *t3*-sign, which is not as long as the first, stops short of a hole in the surface at this point.

^p On the expression *k hsw pr mrw* and the consistent pairing of *hs* and *mr*, see Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 39–45 with 139 (026) 03; cf. Janssen-Winkel, *GM* 190, 48–9, and Valbelle, *RdE* 58, 160–1 (a).

It follows from the inscription that the viceroy Amenemnekhu had two names, Inebny/Amenemnekhu, which are used here alternatively,¹⁸ and that he was still in active service in Year 20, when he conducted or effected the military campaign in question, one of at least two southern campaigns known to have taken place during the period of the co-regency.¹⁹ It also (almost certainly) confirms his identity with the ‘follower of his lord upon his footsteps in the southern and northern foreign lands, king’s son, troop-commander, overseer of weaponry of the king, Inebny’ of the British Museum statue (figs. 6–7). Although their secondary titles are different,²⁰ both served as ‘king’s son’ during the same period (that of the co-regency) and share a name, Inebny, which appears to be otherwise unknown. With the statue and Tombos inscription included, the total number of attestations of this viceroy rises to nine, as he is known from seven other rock-inscriptions, located at various points within the Nubian Nile Valley: at Sehel,²¹ Shalfak (twice),²² Kumma,²³ Tangur (twice),²⁴ and Dal.²⁵ Two more cases can probably be added to this corpus. One is a stela in the British Museum (EA 1015), probably from Buhen, again from the period of the co-regency, the other an ex-voto in the temple of Kumma. These are considered below, as is a relevant context in the temple of Semna.

Stela British Museum EA 1015

The stela²⁶ (figs. 11–12), made of sandstone (max. ht 510mm), is decorated with a scene showing two figures of a viceroy, facing inwards, giving praise to the prenomen ([Maatka]re) of Hatshepsut on the left and that of Thutmose III (Menkheperre) on the right, surmounting an inscription arranged in four horizontal lines, giving the viceroy’s titles, epithets and name: ‘(1)

¹⁸ Cf. Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 86–88 and 99–103.

¹⁹ Habachi, *JNES* 16, 99–104, fig. 6 (see now Gasse and Rondot, *Sudan & Nubia* 7, 41–3, fig. 3, and Gasse and Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, 135 and 482 [SEH 240]); Redford, *History and Chronology*, 57–62; Reineke in Endesfelder *et al.*, *Ägypten und Kusch*; Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien* I, 172, no. 562, II, 239, no. 562; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* 5:2, 3; Davies in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hathsepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 52–3; Spalinger in Cline and O’Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 354; Popko, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung*, 134 and 165–71.

²⁰ For the titles ‘troop-commander’ and ‘overseer of weaponry of the king’, see Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires*, 66, 11.15, and 194, 26.17. They serve here perhaps to articulate the military responsibilities subsumed in the post of viceroy. On the organization of the Egyptian army in Kush during this period, see Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh*, 43.

²¹ Gasse and Rondot, *Sudan & Nubia* 7, 43, fig. 4; Gasse and Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, 136 and 481 (SEH 241), and possibly also 204 and 533 (SEH 339).

²² Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien* I, 90–1, nos 365–6, II, 122, no. 365–6.

²³ *Ibid.*, 116, no. 419, II, 154, no. 419.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 171, no. 558, II, 237, no. 558, and I, 173, no. 564, II, 240, no. 564.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 182–3, no. 609, II, 264, no. 609.

²⁶ PM VII, 141; *HT* v, 10, pl. 35; Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, 198 and 209; Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouh* I, I, 412–4, Doc. IV; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 9; Pamminger, *GM* 131, 100; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, 197 and 300, no. 46.

Hereditary nobleman, governor, royal treasurer, sole companion, eyes (2) [of the king], ears of the lord of the two lands, one who is in the heart of the perfect god, one whom the ki[ng] has advanced (3) [kno]wing his effectiveness, mouth of the king of Lower Egypt in Khent-h[en]-nefer, tongue of the king of Upper Egypt amongst the Rekhyt, king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands (4) [inscription destroyed]'. Deliberate damage has been inflicted on the name of Hatshepsut, the figures of the viceroy and the last line of the inscription, which once identified the viceroy. The extent of the latter damage, which encompasses the entire line, suggests that a double name was once written here. The obvious candidate is now 'Inebny/Amenemnekhu'.²⁷

Temple of Kumma, Court B, ex-voto

The second case occurs in a viceregal ex-voto in the temple of Kumma, placed beneath a larger scene of Thutmose III worshipping the god Khnum on a pilaster in Court B.²⁸ The ex-voto consists of five columns of inscription (fig. 13) followed by the figure of a viceroy standing with hands raised in adoration of the god. Once again the figure of the viceroy has been almost entirely removed (faint traces survive) and the viceroy's name has been obliterated. The area of damage in the inscription, occupying over half the final column, invites the same conclusion: it once contained two names. The double-name 'Inebny/Amenemnekhu' would again suit the space. In this case, the suggestion is supported by the vestige of a hieroglyph which survives towards the bottom of the column (see the recent drawing, fig. 14). It looks like the front leg of a bird, probably the quail-chick (*w*), its location suiting a vertical disposition of the name *Imn-m-nhw* (followed by a determinative). The attribution of this ex-voto to Amenemnekhu also works well within the context of the other decoration in Court B, echoing in content, style, size and situation two nearby ex-votos (associated with inscriptions of Thutmose II honouring the god Khnum) left by a close predecessor, the viceroy Seni.²⁹ Independent evidence that Amenemnekhu was active at Kumma is provided by the rock-inscription (already noted above) marking the presence at the site of one of his close attendants.³⁰

The indications are that, like a small number of other senior officials who served during the co-regency,³¹ Inebny/Amenemnekhu suffered a *damnatio memoriae*, possibly because of his close association with Hatshepsut, although the persecution, as in the case of others so targeted, appears to have been unsystematic. While his name (together with image where present) was effaced at Tombos, Shalfak, Buhen, Kumma (temple), and Sehel, it was left untouched at Kumma (rock-inscription), Tangur and Dal, as well as in the two

²⁷ Or possibly 'Inebny called (*ddw.n.f*) Amenemnekhu' or vice-versa (Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 85, n. 17; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* 5:2, 205–6).

²⁸ Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts*, I. *Semna, Kumma*, 119, pl. 51; Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouck*, I, 415–7, Doc. VI; Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* II, 11–13, pls 14–15 (Pilaster 8, east face).

²⁹ Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* II, 22–5, pls. 20–3.

³⁰ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien* I, 116, no. 419, II, 154, no. 419.

³¹ Dziobek in Assmann, *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 132–5; Dorman in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 108–9; Gasse and Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, 131–4.

examples on his statue from Thebes where the name of Hatshepsut was actually removed (fig. 7).³²

Temple of Semna, Year 2 inscription

On the basis of the known dates for Amenemnekhu's period of office – Year 18 (Shalfak) and now Year 20 (Tombos) – it is a reasonable assumption that he remained in post up to the disappearance of Hatshepsut in Year 22³³ (Thutmose III appointed a new viceroy, Nehy, who was in post in Year 23).³⁴ However, it is yet to be determined when Amenemnekhu took up office. That it occurred after Year 2 can be established from the text dated to that year inscribed on the exterior east wall of the temple of Semna, which tells of an order given by Thutmose III to his viceroy relating to the commemoration of a renewal of offerings.³⁵ The viceroy's name occurs at the very bottom of the second column (fig. 15)³⁶ and is almost entirely lost (not through deliberate damage but from natural decay of the stone surface).³⁷ All that survives of the name is a small trace, roughly triangular in shape (figs. 15–16). It was taken by Caminos (perhaps too definitively) as 'the rear protuberance or horny crest on the head of the -bird', on the basis of which he read the name as Nehy, which suits the available space³⁸ but is difficult to reconcile with the fact that Nehy is known to have followed Amenemnekhu as viceroy, being first certainly attested in office (as noted above) in Year 23.³⁹ The reading 'Inebny' can also be discounted (the surviving trace is incompatible with the orthography of that name), as can 'Amenemnekhu' (on grounds of space as well as orthography). Among the remaining (known) viceregal candidates (comprising Seni, Se, and now possibly Penre),⁴⁰ only 'Seni' (viceroy probably for most of the reign of Thutmose I and the reign of Thutmose II)⁴¹ would seem to meet the requirements of the context. The remaining trace could be the right (top) end of an *n*-sign (; cf. the *n*-sign in column 1, fig. 15) and there is room for the vertical *sn*-sign to its right. The name might have been

³² On the proscription of Hatshepsut, see Dorman in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 267–9; also Arnold in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 270–6; Roth in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 277–83.

³³ Dorman in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 57–8.

³⁴ Dewachter, *RdE* 28, 153; Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouçh* I, 48–9, Doc. 41; Müller, *Die Verwaltung der nubischen Provinz*, 170–2, no. 6; Habachi, *LA* 3, 631–2, no. 8; Bács in Bács (ed.), *Studies Gaál, Luft, Török*, 57–8.

³⁵ Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts*, I. *Semna, Kumma*, 9, fig. A (23), 11, pl. 30; Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouçh* I, 411–2, Doc. III; Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* I, 14, 43–7, pls 23–5.

³⁶ Cf. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, pl. 25, col. 2.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 14, n. 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 44, with n. 2.

³⁹ Davies in Roehrig *et al.*, *Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, 54, with n. 56; Dorman in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 42 and 61, n. 26.

⁴⁰ Bács in Bács (ed.), *Studies Gaál, Luft, Török*; Valbelle, *RdE* 58, 157–75.

⁴¹ Already cited above with reference to his ex-votos in the temple of Kumma, Seni is probably the viceroy of the biographical text inscribed on the exterior south wall of the temple of Semna (Dewachter, *Répertoire des monuments des vice-rois de Kouçh* I, 409–11, Doc. II; Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, I, 27–31, pls 18–19; Bács in Bács (ed.), *Studies Gaál, Luft, Török*, 56–7, n. 25; Valbelle, *RdE* 58, 162, n. 11, and 173–5).

completed with the inclusion of a man-determinative underneath the *n* (as in other cases of his name),⁴² a grouping compatible with the available space.

Whether this suggestion is correct or not, the exclusion of Inebny/Amenemnekhu as a candidate means that two viceroys are currently attested for the Thutmose III-Hatshepsut period, the first (possibly Seni) in office at the very beginning of the period (Year 2), the second (Inebny/Amenemnekhu) towards the end (at least from Year 18 onwards). It remains to be ascertained if (and when) the former succeeded the latter or whether another viceroy intervened. However, there is currently no evidence for a rapid turn-over of viceroys and consequent instability in the colonial administration during the co-regency,⁴³ a period which saw an active programme of temple and other building in the Nubian Nile Valley and consolidation of the Egyptian presence in Kush – the latter strikingly manifested in the major new fortified town of Pnubs (Dokki Gel), just south of Tombos, its religious complex including a temple (the western temple) decorated by Hatshepsut.⁴⁴

Summary

These first results of the British Museum Tombos survey show again the value of revisiting original material, long known but inadequately documented. It has produced useful new prosopographical data, extending our secure evidential base for the history of the period and the Egyptian appropriation of the Middle Nile Valley, a process in which the viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu appears to have played an active role during his (possibly long) period of office. It has also opened up an interesting possibility: that other viceroys (and indeed officials at large) currently known only by a single name (for example, Seni, Se, Penre, Nehy, Usersatet) may actually have had two names – perhaps deployed alternatively on different monuments – that have yet to be connected.

Inebny/Amenemnekhu is, to date, the earliest known viceroy to have left his mark at Tombos. A future report will consider the inscriptions on the Tombos mainland (east bank of the Nile, see fig. 1),⁴⁵ a corpus which comprises the famous stelae of Thutmose I and commemorative texts left by two later viceroys, Usersatet⁴⁶ and Merymose, and other favoured officials,⁴⁷ a presence which, together with the recent discovery of a nearby pharaonic cemetery including a large pyramid-tomb of a senior government official, possibly of the mid-

⁴² Davies and MacAdam, *Corpus of Inscribed Funerary Cones*, nos 342 and 343; cf. Pammlinger, *GM* 131, 97.

⁴³ Dziobek *GM* 132, 31–2; Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 137; cf. Bács in Bács (ed.), *Studies Gaál, Luft, Török*, 58; Bryan in Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III. A New Biography*, 102.

⁴⁴ Valbelle, *BSFÉ* 167, 39–40, figs 5–6, and 45–50, fig. 9; Bonnet *Genava* n.s. LV, 192–4; Valbelle, *Genava* n.s. LV, 213–8; Valbelle in Godlewski and Uajtar (eds), *Between the Cataracts*, 85–9, figs. 2–3; cf. Welsby and Welsby Sjöström, *CRIPEL* 26, 380.

⁴⁵ PM VII, 174–5

⁴⁶ Newly identified by the British Museum expedition as the right figure in the double scene published incompletely in *LD Text*, V, 244 (bottom right). I can also confirm that the figure on the left is the ‘overseer of foreign lands, overseer of the portal, fan-bearer, (Pa)-heka-em-sa-sen,’ as suggested by Dewachter, *CRIPEL* 4, 56–7; cf. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 93–4 and 111–2; Gasse and Rondot, *Sudan & Nubia* 7, 45, pl. 6 and col. pl. xxv; Gasse and Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Sébel*, 155 and 498 (SEH 261); Valbelle, *RdE* 58, 170.

Eighteenth Dynasty, supports the growing picture of Tombos as a significant node of the colonial administration.⁴⁸

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⁴⁷ Including the previously unnoted inscription of a 'Mayu, son of Hor-er-hat and his wife Tju'.

⁴⁸ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 136–66; Smith, *Sudan & Nubia* 11, 2–7 and 12; Smith in Godlewski and Úajtar (eds), *Between the Cataracts*, 97–103 and 111; cf. Bonnet in Godlewski and Úajtar (eds), *Between the Cataracts*, 83.

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Abbreviations

- HT = *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum. 12 parts.* London, Oxford, Cambridge and Dorchester, 1882–1993.
- LD Text = Lepsius, R. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Text. 5 vols.* Leipzig, 1897–1913.
- PN I = Ranke, H. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen, I.* Glückstadt, 1935.
- Urk. IV = Sethe, K. (ed.). *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.* Leipzig, 1906–1909 and Helck, W. (ed.), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.* Berlin, 1955–1958.
- PM VII = Porter, B. and R. L. B. Moss (with E.W. Burney). *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, VII. Nubia, the Deserts and Outside Egypt.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.
- Wb. = Eрман, A. and H. Grapow (eds) *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* 7 vols. Leipzig, 1925–1950.



Fig.1: Satellite image of Tombos Island (photo Google Earth), with location of inscription of Thutmose III (91/17) indicated.



Fig. 2: Tombos Island. General location of the Thutmose III inscription (91/17) viewed from the east, indicated by the arrow.



Fig. 3: Tombos Island. Inscription dated to Year 20 of King Thutmose III (91/17).

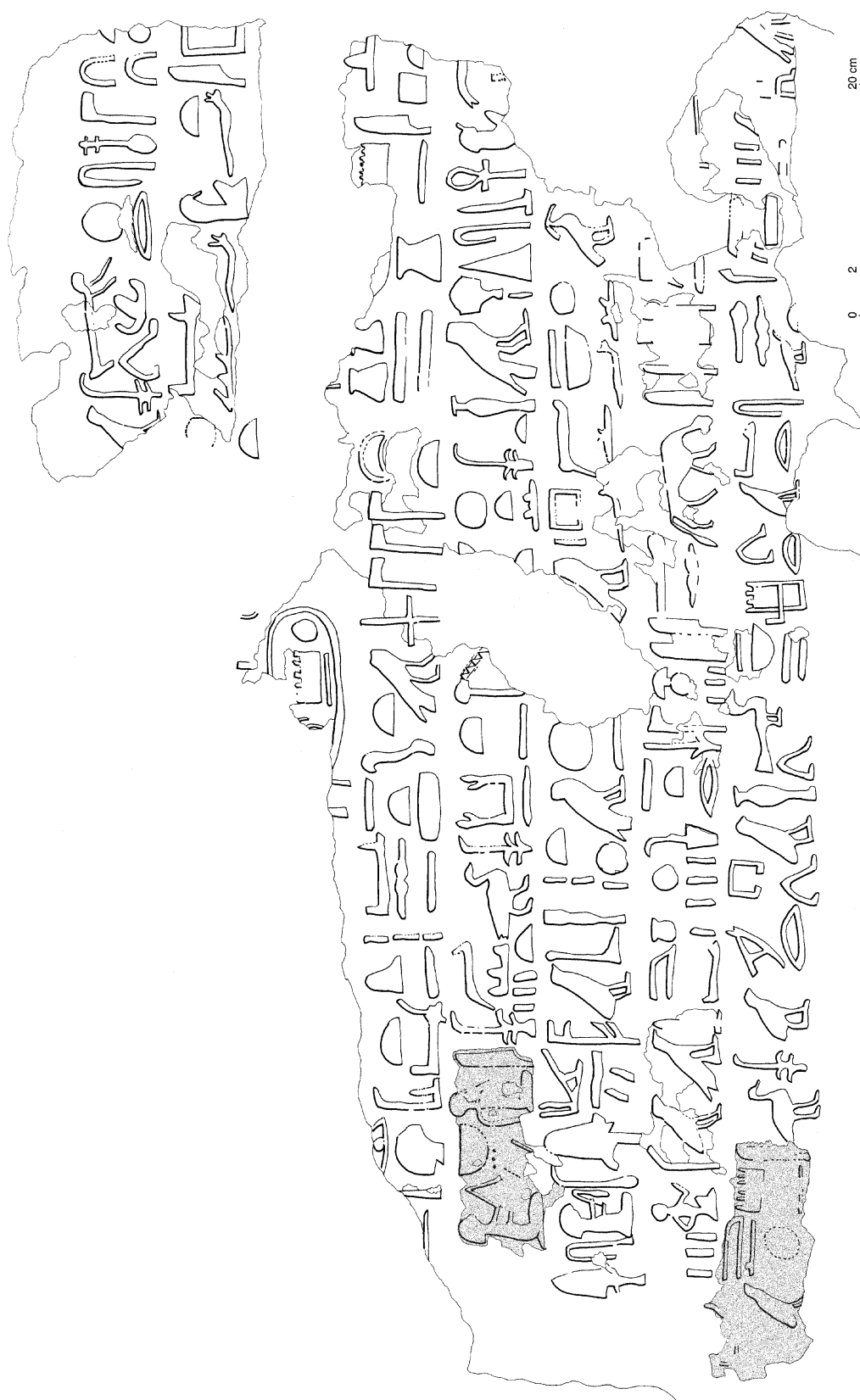


Fig. 4 : New copy of inscription of Thutmose III.



Fig. 5: Tombos Island. Year 20 inscription, detail showing effaced names.



Fig. 6: Statue of Inebny (British Museum EA 1131), detail.



Fig. 7: Statue of Inebny (British Museum EA 1131).



Fig 8: Tombos Island. Detail of the inscription of Thutmose III, showing the viceroy's first name.



Fig 9: Tombos Island. Detail of the inscription of Thutmose III, showing the viceroy's second name.



Fig. 11: Stela British Museum EA 1015.

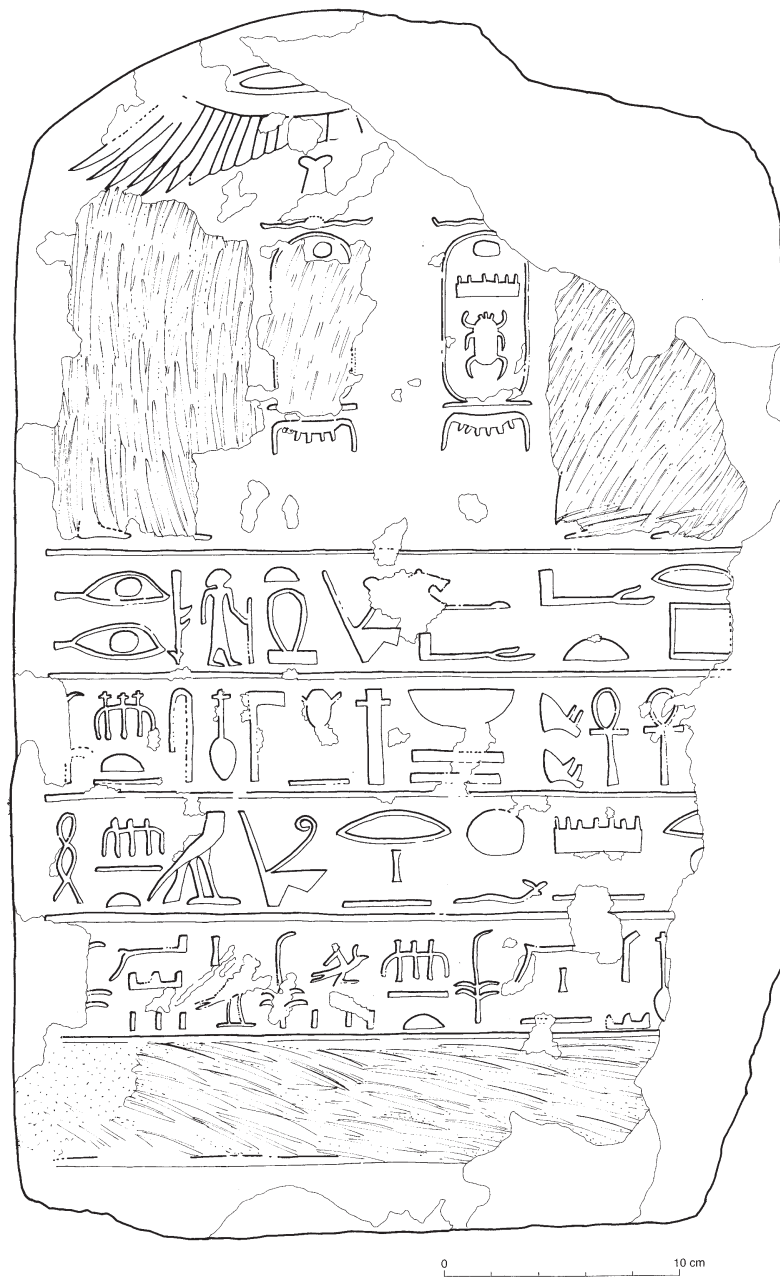


Fig. 12: Stela British Museum EA 1015, new copy of decoration.



Fig. 13: Temple of Kumma, ex-voto in Court B.

Fig. 14: Temple of Kumma, ex-voto in Court B. Copy of damaged area in last column with vestige of hieroglyph.

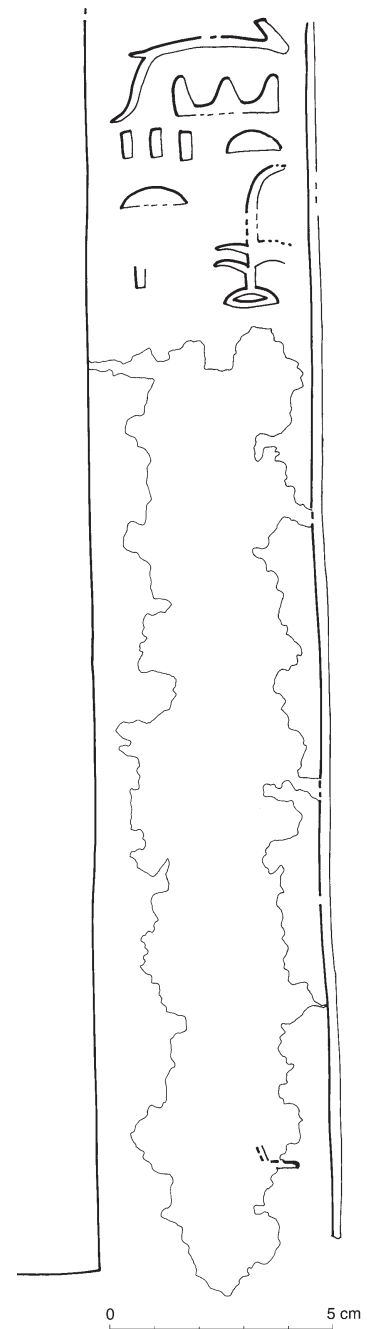




Fig. 15: Temple of Semna, Year 2 inscription. Bottom of columns 1-3.



Fig. 16: Temple of Semna, Year 2 inscription. Bottom of column 2 with vestige of viceroy's name indicated.



A Mamluk Coin from Kulubnarti, Sudan

Julie R. Anderson

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During the late 13th and 14th Centuries AD, the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt interfered in Nubian political affairs and made numerous military incursions into Sudan. These activities contributed to the collapse of the medieval Nubian kingdom of Makuria. Kulubnarti, a seasonal island situated in northern Sudan, was inhabited throughout this period and its population was, doubtless, witness to the turmoil of the age. Located in the very heart of the rugged and remote Batn el-Hajar ('Belly of Rocks'), Kulubnarti is upstream of the Second Cataract of the Nile, about 640km north-northwest of Khartoum (figs. 1, 2). Excavations were carried out on the island and on part of the west bank by the University of Kentucky, under the direction of Professor W.Y. Adams in 1969 and 1979. Many artefacts from the site now form part of the British Museum collections in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan. The main focus of the excavation was the investigation of three largely late medieval settlements, designated 21-S-2, 21-S-9 and 21-S-10, although a number of smaller sites and two large medieval cemeteries were also examined.¹ Kulubnarti was continuously occupied from c. AD1100 and remains inhabited today. Overall, approximately 1,300 artefacts were registered by the mission and substantial numbers of unregistered leather, basketry, ceramic sherds and textiles were collected.² Despite the large quantity of material excavated, there are very few coins in the assemblage.

A total of eight coins were recovered from site 21-S-2 and an additional one from site 21-S-10. Both were settlement sites and all coins were recovered from post-medieval surface contexts. The coins from 21-S-2 were identified as small denomination Egyptian issues of the 19th century and included three small copper coins of 5 paras, a large copper coin of 40 paras, a silver coin of 20 paras and two silver coins of one piaster.³ It is the ninth coin, now in the British Museum (EA 78210), from settlement 21-S-10 that forms the basis for this discussion.⁴ The artefact was tentatively identified as a coin by the excavator who records 'the final coin, if such it is, is a small, thick disc of copper, 15mm in diameter, which is so worn that no trace of design has survived'.⁵

Conservation and cleaning⁶ enabled the identification of EA 78210 as a small thick, somewhat irregularly-shaped, poorly-struck, bronze coin of the Mamluk sultans, minted

¹ Cf. Adams, *Kulubnarti* I.

² Adams and Adams, *Kulubnarti* II.

³ Adams and Adams, *Kulubnarti* II, 81, pl. 10 [B, C].

⁴ The coin's excavation object catalogue number was 85.7.56 and field excavation number was 21-S-10/16, Adams and Adams, *Kulubnarti* II, 81, 127.

⁵ Adams and Adams, *Kulubnarti* II, 81.

⁶ Cleaning and conservation was performed by Simon Dove of the Department of Conservation, Documentation and Science of the British Museum.

sometime during the 14th Century AD, probably mint of Damascus (figs. 3–4).⁷ The coin surface is worn and pitting is visible near the edge of the obverse face. These factors unfortunately hindered exact dating of the object. Fragments of impressed text are barely visible near the edges on both sides. The coin's dimensions are as follows: length: 19mm; width: 17mm; maximum thickness: 2.5mm.

In and of itself, coin EA 78210 is not an object worthy of much attention; however, its discovery at Kulubnarti is of historical interest due to both its date and origin. Virtually all evidence for the Mamluk incursions of the 13th and 14th Centuries AD into Nubia is derived from literary sources such as an-Nurwayri, al-Mufaddal, Ibn Khaldun and Maqrizi.⁸ There is scant archaeological evidence in Nubia for a Mamluk presence despite numerous written reports of incursions by large armies, beginning with a raid on Dongola⁹ in 1265.

From the beginning to the mid-14th Century AD, the Mamluks made at least four sorties into Nubia, three of which reach Dongola, a site far upstream of Kulubnarti. In 1304, the Nubian king Ammy¹⁰ requested assistance from the sultanate in Cairo and returned to Dongola with a large troop of soldiers. These soldiers remained in Nubia for at least nine months before returning to Egypt. Ammy's successor, Kerenbes provoked Mamluk wrath by refusing to pay tribute and was attacked by their army in 1315. His fortune turns, and he is later reinstated on the Makurian throne in Dongola by the Mamluks in 1323. The last Mamluk foray into Nubia occurred in 1365. An army of 3000 horsemen was dispatched from Cairo at the request of the Nubian king to assist him in regaining the Makurian throne from a pretender. The mission was not successful. Although the Mamluks relieved a siege at al-Daw¹¹ and then lay siege to the island of Mikhail (Meinarti) just north of the Second Cataract, they did not proceed on to Dongola and the Nubian king remained in al-Daw.¹² It also does not appear that they advanced as far south as Kulubnarti at this time.

The question arises as to how this coin arrived at Kulubnarti. There is nothing from the disposition of the artefact to suggest that it was used in any fashion other than as currency of some sort. The widespread use of coinage upstream of the Second Cataract in northern Sudan did not occur until the 19th century after the conquest of Sudan by Mohamed Ali in 1820. At this time Egyptian and Ottoman coins were officially brought into circulation. Sudan began to mint its own coinage during the Mahdiya period between 1885–1898.¹³ As a consequence, it is not entirely surprising that, despite the lengthy period of occupation at Kulubnarti, few coins were recovered during excavation.

Trade in Nubia was tightly regulated by the medieval rulers up until c. 1300. As described by the 10th Century AD Arab geographer Ibn Selim al-Aswani, trade between Christian Nubians and Arab Moslems occurred freely in Lower Nubia, the region between the First

⁷ Identification of the coin was made by Vesta Curtis and Joe Cribb of the Department of Coins and Metals of the British Museum. Cf. Balog, *Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans*.

⁸ Cf. Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 106–23; Adams, *Nubia Corridor to Africa*, 525–31; Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, 467–92, 494–501, 547–62, 648–50.

⁹ Dongola is now referred to as Old Dongola.

¹⁰ Sometimes also written Ayay.

¹¹ Al-Daw is believed to be Jebel Adda.

¹² Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 121–23; Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, 698–703.

¹³ Job, *Sudan Notes and Records* 3, 163.

and Second Cataracts of the Nile, and coinage was in circulation. However, upstream of the Second Cataract, the region in which Kulubnarti is located, trade was conducted by barter. 'Neither the dinar, nor the dirham are of any use because they do not use money in their transactions, except with the Muslims beyond the cataract they do not buy or sell with money, but carry out their transactions by the exchange of slaves (*raqiq*), cattle, camels, iron tools and grains'.¹⁴ Further, customs posts were placed at both ends of the Batn el-Hajar (Takoaa and Upper Maqs) to ensure that traders complied with the regulations. Transgressors could be punished by death.¹⁵

Following the decline and collapse of the Nubian medieval kingdoms in the late 14th Century AD (post 1365), exchange along the Middle Nile remained based upon barter as the use of coinage was slow to penetrate the region upstream of the Second Nile Cataract. Archaeological evidence of this period from Kulubnarti indicates that the Batn el-Hajar region economically declined, trade along the Nile decreased, and the inhabitants gradually became more and more impoverished; a situation that did not begin to improve until the beginning of Turco-Egyptian rule in 1821. Much further to the south, the Funj Sultanate based in Sennar (1504/5-1820), did not mint coins and the markets did not normally use coinage as a form of exchange. Foreign coins themselves were commodities and frequently kept for jewellery. Units of items such as gold, grain, iron, cloth and salt had specific values and were used for trade, particularly on a national level.¹⁶

Several commercial contracts dating to the 16th Century AD, illustrate the trade relations between travelling Arab merchants and the Sudan in the period that followed. Trade was still largely conducted by barter in the mercantile and civilian spheres. For example, a contract between Yusuf b. Gamal al-Din Mansur al-Tahtawi (Cairo retailer) and Muhammad b. Mari b. Sulayman al-'Arini al-Murshadi (travelling merchant), stipulates that Muhammad receive various sorts of cloth, tin, chains, scents and files in order to travel to Sudan and trade these goods in exchange for slaves, camels and gold dust.¹⁷ In another contract, between Ibrahim b. Musa b. Gamal al-Din al-Tahtawi (merchant) and Gibril b. Ayyub b. Mahluf al-Misurati (travelling merchant), Gibril is permitted to choose goods in Cairo in order to purchase in Sudan 'with cash or by barter' slaves, camels, feathers and other goods.¹⁸

As trade in the region of the Batn el-Hajar primarily was conducted by barter until the mid-19th Century, the presence of a Mamluk coin of the 14th century, or of any coin for that matter, is of note particularly as coinage is largely absent from the archaeological record of the area as a whole. However, apart from the *terminus post quem* provided by the coin's date, there is no way of knowing when or how the coin arrived at Kulubnarti and unfortunately, the archaeological context in which it was discovered, offers little clue. It would be nice to be able to suggest that EA 78210 may provide some archaeological corroboration for

¹⁴ Vantini, *Oriental Sources*, 604.

¹⁵ Ibid., 602–4.

¹⁶ Nakash, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 20 (3), 374. For a detailed discussion of the market and medium of exchange in the Funj Sultanate see Spaulding in Manger, *Trade and Traders in the Sudan*, 25–48 and Spaulding, *The Heroic Age in Sinnar*, 104–19.

¹⁷ Walz, *Annales Islamologiques* 15, 227.

¹⁸ Ibid., 232.

Mamluk presence in the region during the 14th Century AD as they comprised the largest group of individuals having access to and using coinage in the remote Batn el-Hajar at that time; however, such great weight of import can not be given to the discovery of a single coin. It is entirely possible that the coin was carried to the site by someone a century or two after its minting, thus it remains impossible to narrow down the exact date of the coin's arrival at Kulubnarti or to attach further significance to it other than to make some general observations concerning trade in the Batn el-Hajar.

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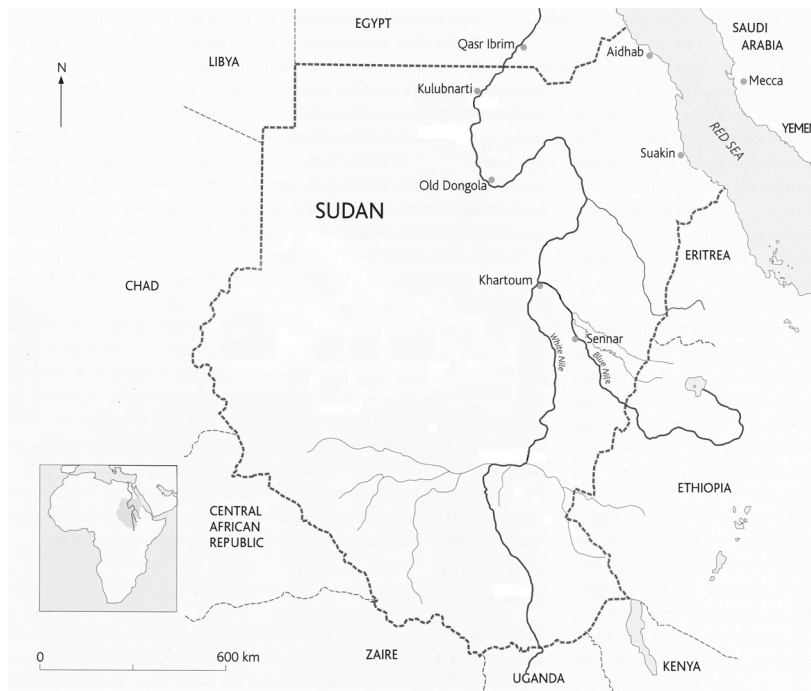


Figure 1: Map of northern Sudan.



Figure 2: The island of Kulubnarti (copyright D.A. Welsby).



Figure 3: Coin, British Museum EA 78210.



Figure 4: Coin, British Museum EA 78210.